

THE

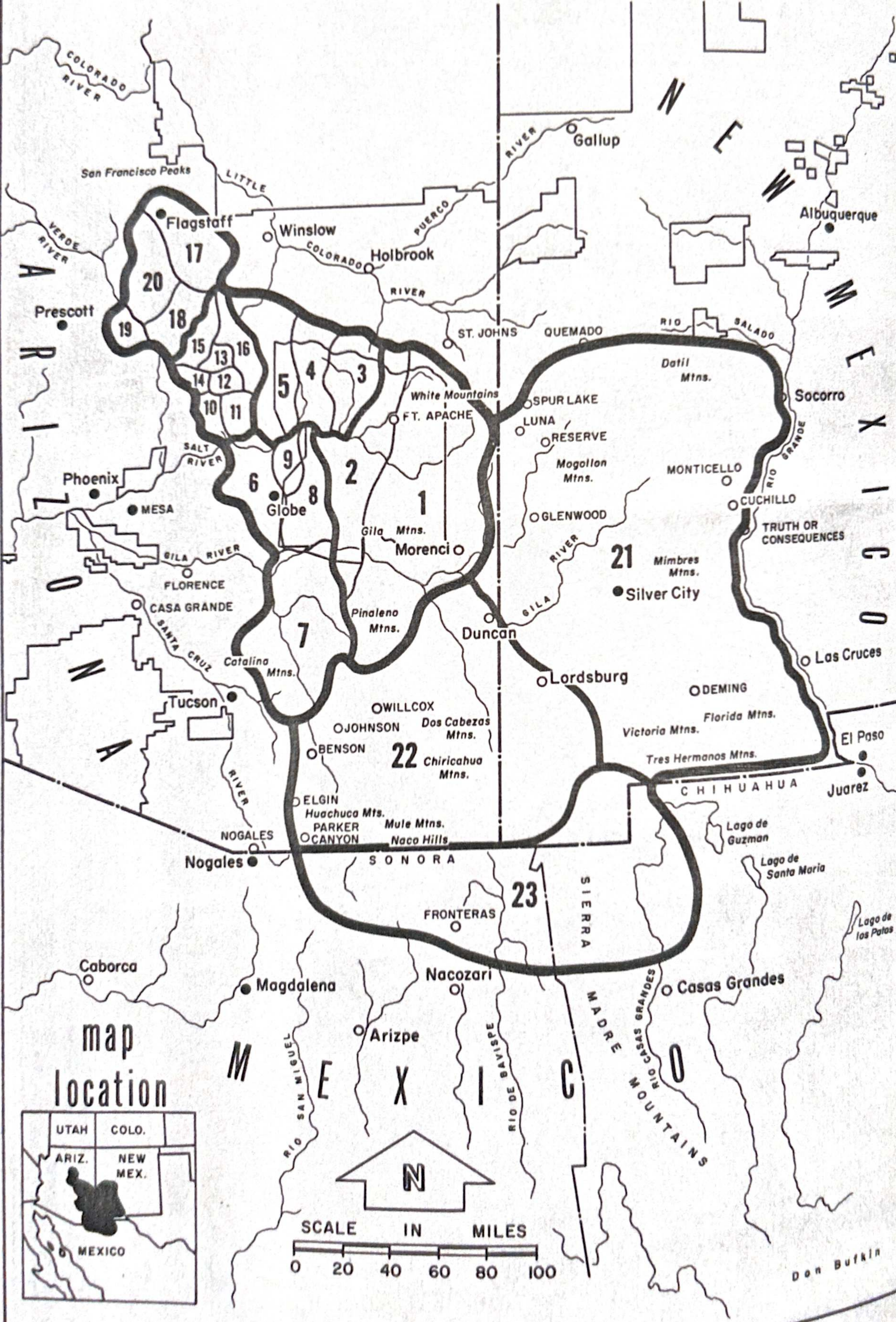
WARRIOR APACHES

GORDON C.
BALDWIN



*An absorbing story of a
courageous people*

Chiricahua and Western Apache Territory about 1850



This book is dedicated to Tom Bahti, whose interest and friendship for the Indian helped it reach the light of day.

KEY TO MAP

- 1 Eastern White Mountain Band
- 2 Western White Mountain Band
- 3 Carrizo Band
- 4 Cibecue Band
- 5 Canyon Creek Band
- 6 Pinal Band
- 7 Arivaipa Band
- 8 San Carlos Band
- 9 Apache Peaks Band
- 10 Mazatzal Band
- 11 First Semiband Southern Tonto
- 12 Second Semiband Southern Tonto
- 13 Third Semiband Southern Tonto
- 14 Fourth Semiband Southern Tonto
- 15 Fifth Semiband Southern Tonto
- 16 Sixth Semiband Southern Tonto
- 17 Mormon Lake Band
- 18 Fossil Creek Band
- 19 Bald Mountain Band
- 20 Oak Creek Band
- 21 Chiricahua Eastern Band
- 22 Chiricahua Central Band
- 23 Chiricahua Southern Band

—After Goodwin and Opler

THE WARRIOR APACHES.



*A Story of the
Chiricahua and
Western Apache*

by Gordon C. Baldwin

Book design by

Harold A. Wolfenbarger, Jr.

drawings by

C. Randolph McKusick



Published by

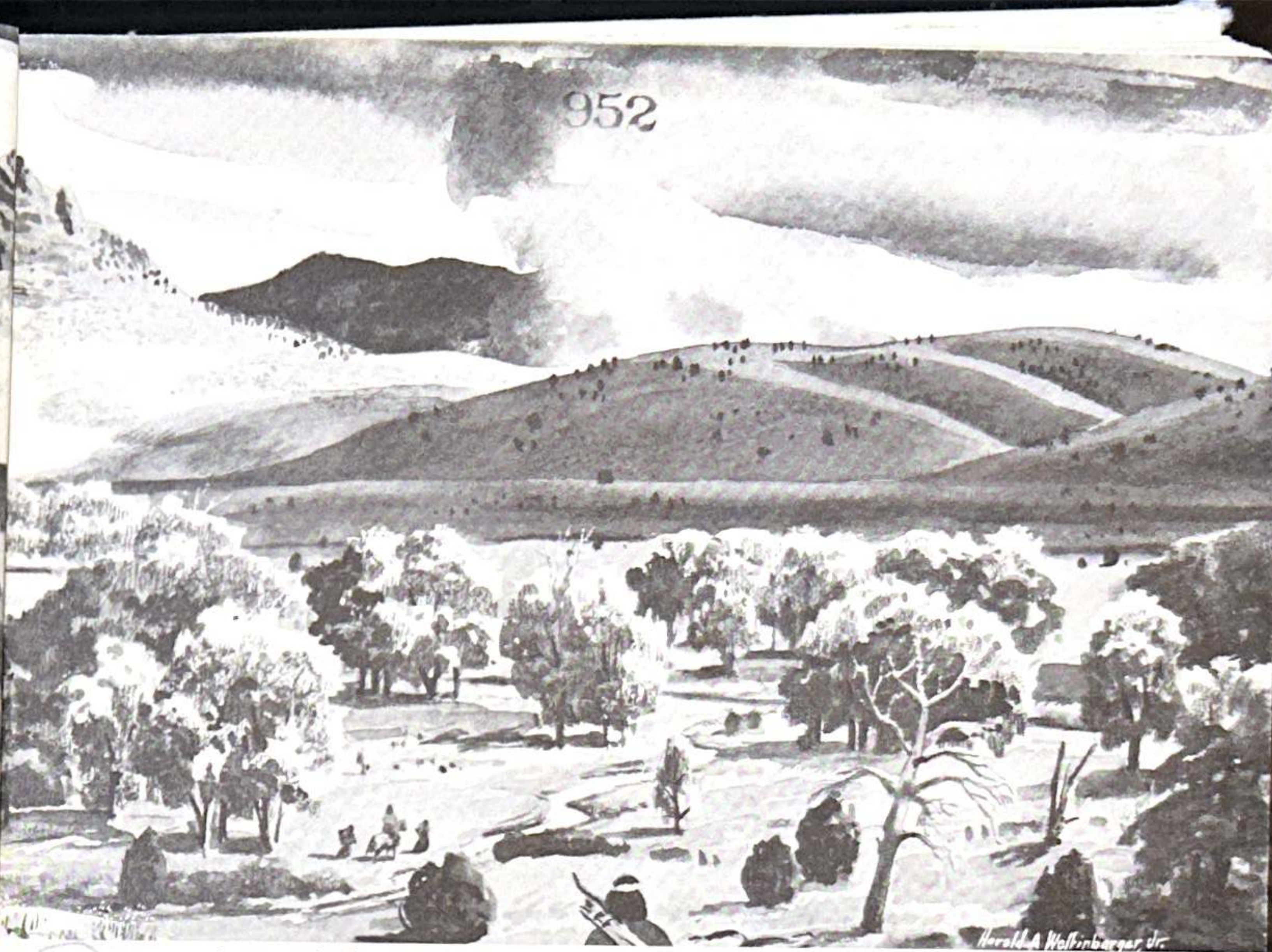
Dale Stuart King

Six Shooter Gulch, Rt. 4, Box 865

Tucson, Arizona 85704



The Canada Alamosa as seen from near the springs,



ancient home of the Warm Springs Chiricahua Apache.

FOREWORD

E 99
A6
B15

Copyright 1965 by Gordon C. Baldwin
Library of Congress Card No. 65-28771

This book is designed to fill the long-existing need for a description, on the adult level, of the aboriginal life of the Apaches, and an explanation of how they are now adjusting to modern times.

When a bright young Apache business man (a grandson of a famous warrior) reviewed the manuscript and illustrations, he said: "This will show our young folks some of the fine things our people made and did in the old days, and will help make them proud of their own tribe." This we consider a high compliment. May the book do just that!

A later volume in this same series will describe "The Plains Apaches"—the Jicarilla, Mescalero, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache. DSK



KT SH

CONTENTS

Foreword	5
Acknowledgments	7
List of Illustrations	9
1. The Apache in Fact and Fiction . . .	11
2. Who were the Apaches?	14
3. Apache History	21
4. Apache Tribal Organization	53
5. The Apache Way of Life	57

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to the staff of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, and particularly to Dr. Arthur Woodward, Ray Brandes, and Mrs. Sadie Schmidt, and Leonard Brown.

For the loan of numerous references, I am deeply indebted to Dr. William H. Kelly, director of the Bureau of Ethnic Research, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.

Dr. Emil W. Haury and Wilma Kaemlein, curator of Collections, Arizona State Museum, kindly furnished numerous specimens of Apache material cul-



6. Shelter, Clothing, and Tools	69
7. Social Life	89
8. Government and Law	98
9. Religion and Ceremonies	104
10. Apache Warfare	116
11. The Apache Today	122
Bibliography	140
Index	142

ture, from their fine collection, which served as the originals for the drawings to be seen throughout the book.

My sincere thanks are expressed to Miss Patricia Paylore, assistant librarian, University of Arizona, for extending me the facilities of the University of Arizona Library.

I should also like to express my appreciation to Ed Bartholomew and Charles Herbert for their cooperation in providing many of the photographs reproduced in this book.

“The history of... [these]...people is, inexorably, part of our own history. We have absorbed their lands into our holdings. Just so must we be the responsible custodians of their tragedy, absorbing it into our tradition and morality.”

—Theodora Kroeber, Foreword,
Ishi in Two Worlds. University of
California Press, Berkeley, 1962.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Canada Alamosa from Warm Springs, 4-5
- Throwing boulders down on invaders, 13
- Ration line at San Carlos, 18
- Victorio, Warm Springs war chief, 19
- Es-kim-in-zin, Arivaipa chief, 19
- Nana, Warm Springs war leader, 19
- Loco, one of Victorio's successors, 19
- Ambushing ox team, 25
- Driving stolen cattle, 26
- John P. Clum, Indian agent, 32
- Gen. George Crook, 34
- Map, Apache country in 1880, 40-1
- Geronimo, his son, and two warriors, 43
- Sub-chief Zele and wife, 45
- Chato in 1886, 47
- Gen. Nelson A. Miles, 48
- Geronimo's camp, 54
- Corn harvest, drying, and shell-ing, 56
- Mescal (agave), 58
- Yucca baccata, 58
- Tule (cattail), 59
- Saguaro, 59
- Onion lilies, 59
- Lambsquarter, 60
- Pigweed (amaranth, careless weed), 60
- Wood sorrel, 60
- Mustard, 60
- Wild potato, 60
- Elderberry, 61
- Raspberry, 61
- Chokecherry, 61
- Strawberry, 61
- Wild grape, 61
- Golden currant, 62
- Sumac, 62
- Manzanita, 62
- Algerita, 62
- Sunflower, 62
- Gambel oak, 63
- Emory oak, 63
- Mesquite, 63
- Screwbean mesquite, 63
- Nopal, 63
- Black walnut, 63
- One-seeded juniper, 63
- Pinyon, 63
- Jojoba, 63
- Mescal knife, 64
- Mescal preparation tray, 64
- Mescal pit, 64
- Seed beater, 65
- Tuna picker, 66
- Picking tunas, 66
- Fruit tray and brush, 67
- Food strainer, 68
- Food preparation tray, 68
- Flute, 68
- "Violin," 68
- Bark torch, 68
- Jicarilla gourd container, 68
- Wickiup making, 70
- Ramada, 71
- Man's low moccasin, 72
- Wooden awl and case, 72
- Costumes for adults, 72-3

ILLUSTRATIONS (Cont.) • • • • •

- Yucca, 74
- Headdress and hair ornament, 74
- Shell ornaments, 75
- Baby's charm necklace, 75
- Medicine man's hat, 75
- Child's buckskin shirt, 76
- Woman's buckskin shirt, 76
- Section of coiled basketry, 77
- Devilsclaw, 77
- Baskets and basketmaker, 78-9
- Containers for liquids, 80
- Double saddle bags, 80
- Beaded bag, 81
- Pottery jar, 81
- Making cradleboard, 83
- Fire-making set, 84
- Quiver, bow, arrow, 85
- War club, 86
- Saddle, hobble, quirt, 87
- Stalking heads and turkey decoy, 88
- Coyote and family, 90
- Woman with nose partly cut off, 96
- Geronimo and Naiche, 99
- Mangus, son of Mangas Coloradas, 99
- Bonito, 100
- Casadora and wife, 100
- Pesh-coo, medicine man, 105
- Ceremonial buckskin, 105
- Pottery drum and stick, 106
- Gan dancer being painted and dancers in action, 109
- Sunrise dance, puberty ceremony, 111
- Maiden in traditional costume, 110
- Tortillas to feed crowd, 111
- Singers and drummer, 111
- Maidens under ceremonial tipi, 121
- Spreading blankets for kneading ceremony, 112
- Digging hole to deposit ritual objects, 113
- Maiden and sponsor, 114
- War necklace, 117
- Buckskin war cap, 118
- Warm Springs warrior, 118
- War shield, 119
- Apaches ambushing, 121
- Grade school children, 123
- Tribal cattle roundup, 124
- Ft. Apache, 126
- New San Carlos, 126
- Tribal chairman and managers, 127
- Tribal lumber mill, 128
- Baskets and cradleboards, 132
- Beadwork, 132
- Mounted woman, showing use of saddlebags, 133
- Sewing trim on saddlebags, 133
- Last Army scout receiving award, 135
- Recreational lake, 136
- Sorting acorns, 138
- Watching movie, "Broken Arrow, 138

The Apache

in Fact and Fiction



Chapter 1

WHEN THE United States Army herded the last of the Chiricahua Apache Indians into waiting railroad cars and shipped them off to a Florida prison camp in 1886, it marked the end of one of the most colorful eras in southwestern history.

Since then more gallons of black ink have been used to deface white paper in writing about the Apache than all the Indian, Spanish, Mexican, and American blood spilled during that period.

This is fine. People like to read about Indians and Indian wars. People should be told something of the history of these Indians, of their arts and crafts, of how they lived and died. But, sad to say, a

great deal of what has been written about the Apache Indians, both in fact and in fiction, is misinformation.

For example, what do writers mean when they use the term, Apache? Do they mean the Lipan or the Jicarilla or the Kiowa-Apache? Or do they mean the Mescalero or the Chiricahua or the Western Apache? These six are all Apache tribes, and you could even include the Navajo to make a seventh.

What do writers mean when they use the terms Mohave-Apaches or Yuma-Apaches or even Yavapai-Apaches? These names have also been applied to various groups of Arizona Indians who are not Apaches at all. Most writers

don't seem to know this, or, if they do, they ignore it.

In printed word and on film it has become almost a tradition to depict the Apache Indians as the villains of the story. This is not something new. Since the early 1600's Spanish, Mexican, and American writers have applied one or more of the following adjectives to the Apache—treacherous, cruel, cowardly, thieving, immoral, cunning, bloodthirsty, brutal, murderous. In 1663 Aguilar wrote that no road is safe from this heathen nation. By 1763 Father Sedelmayr was writing of "the cruel Apache nation." Pino in 1812 called the Apache "a treacherous, cruel, and thieving people." By the 1850's the Americans were getting into the act. One report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs called the Apaches "treacherous, bloodthirsty, brutal, with an irresistible propensity to steal." Even the governor of the then Territory of Arizona in 1864 stated that "the Apache is a murderer by heredity descent—a thief by prescription."

To most of these descriptions there was some truth. But, at the same time, you could apply these same adjectives to almost any other large group of people, and, to a greater or lesser degree, be speaking the truth. There are always murderers and thieves, liars and cowards in

any tribe or nation. That is why we have policemen and courts of law and jails.

It should also be remembered that Arizona was not a Sunday school back in the 1860's and 1870's. It had the reputation of being tough, and it lived up to it. This desert and mountain country was home for some of the most vicious scoundrels that ever lived. In addition to Mexican bandits and local riffraff, Arizona had received a shipment of ruffians and road agents thrown out of California by Vigilance Committees. These gathered wherever towns and mining camps afforded promise of easy pickings. They taught the Indian tricks when it came to murder and thievery and torture.

Another point to remember is that the history of the Apache has been written by his enemies—the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans who fought against the Apache at one time or another. The reports were a direct product of the times. With feeling against the Apaches running at fever pitch, little good could be said about them.

Yet in spite of this there were a few writers in the latter half of the 19th century who had some kind words to say about the Apache Indians. Both John G. Bourke and Thomas Cruse, two officers who fought against the Apache, said they were not

cowards, that they were skillful and daring in war. Cruse even called them the greatest all-around warriors of all the American Indians.

Up until recent years, when a few anthropologists began studying the Apache, there was almost a total lack of information about the daily life of these Indians. By using these references and by sifting out the bits of truth

in earlier works we have compiled what we hope is an accurate picture of two specific groups of Apache Indians, the Chiricahua and Western Apache.

We have titled the book the WARRIOR APACHES. We could just as easily and with about as much justification called it THE PEACEFUL APACHES. However, the latter title probably wouldn't sell as many books.

The Warm Springs people used the Alamosa canyon for defensive purposes—retreating to its heights, down from which they threw boulders on invaders.



Who were the Apaches?



Chapter 2

THE SEVEN Apache tribes we mentioned in Chapter I are relative newcomers in the southwestern United States. All of these groups speak closely allied languages belonging to a larger language stock which anthropologists call Athapaskan.

Their nearest linguistic relatives are located far to the north in northwestern Canada and Alaska, with a few other small tribes scattered along the Pacific Coast from British Columbia south to northern California. Except for the Eskimo, these Athapaskan-speaking peoples are the latest arrivals from Asia. They missed being the first Americans by some 25,000 years. But, like the

rest of the American Indians, these Athapascans were Asiatics. That is, in skin color, in hair color and form, in body build, and in other racial features, they were more like the inhabitants of Asia than they were like those of Europe or Africa.

These ancient Asiatics, perhaps forced out of their original homeland by famine or by pressure from other tribes moving up from the south and west, migrated from Siberia into the New World. They probably crossed Bering Strait, either by boat or on the ice in winter, not too many years before the beginning of the Christian era.

This was long before the

present-day Iron Curtain between Big and Little Diomed Islands in the middle of the strait, and there were no armed guards or customs authorities to stop them and search their baggage. Many anthropologists believe that these Indians brought with them from Asia and introduced into America such items as tailored fur and skin garments, moccasins, the snowshoe and toboggan, and the sinew-backed compound bow.

During the next 1,000 or so years the Athapaskan-speaking Indians gradually spread out over Alaska and northern Canada. For some reason that will probably never be known, a large group split off from the others and began to push their way slowly southward.

How they came, and when, are two more questions we may never have fully answered. Most authorities say they moved down the eastern flank of the Rocky Mountains. This would seem to have been an easier and more logical route than that west of the mountains.

There is not so much agreement on when they arrived. Some archaeologists believe that Apache groups may have reached the southwest as early as the 13th century, basing their belief on the archaeological evidences of nomadic invaders harassing the prehistoric Pueblo In-

dian villages of Arizona and New Mexico in the late 1200's. But other archaeologists argue that there is no evidence that these 13th century intruders were Apaches. The raiders could just as likely have been desert nomads already occupying large parts of Utah and Nevada.

Most of the historians and archaeologists place the Apache invasion of the southwest in the early 16th century, about the same time as the first Spanish expeditions reached Arizona and New Mexico from the south. Spanish documents, at least, seem to indicate Apaches in the plains in eastern New Mexico in 1541. The name Apache was first used by the Spanish in the closing years of the 16th century. At that time Spanish accounts show Apaches in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado and out on the plains. After A.D. 1600 we can trace their movements in considerable detail through Spanish, Mexican, and American records.

Yet some confusion still exists because the Spaniards had the bad habit of applying the term Apache to certain non-Athapaskan Indians merely because they happened to follow the Apache practice of raiding the Spanish settlements.

The history of the Apache groups as revealed in these documents is a story of constantly increasing pressure

against them by first one group and then another. Competition for hunting grounds may have caused some of the friction. Later, pressure came from such large Indian tribes as the Pawnee, Ute, and Comanche on the north and east; the Spanish and Mexicans from the south; and finally, the Americans from all sides.

This pressure forced the various Apache groups to shift from one area to another. By the middle of the 19th century they had separated into the divisions we know today and had reached their final locations.

The Kiowa-Apache and the Lipan lived out on the plains, the Kiowa-Apache in southeastern Kansas, western Oklahoma, and the northern part of the Texas panhandle—the Lipan further to the south in Texas and northern Mexico. The Jicarilla ranged over northeastern New Mexico and southeastern Colorado, the Navajo occupied northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona, and the Mescalero wandered through south-central New Mexico, the Big Bend region of Texas, and northern Mexico.

Of the two remaining groups, the Chiricahua were located in southeastern Arizona, southwestern New Mexico, and northern Mexico, and the Western Apache inhabited eastern Arizona.

Since most of what has been written about Apache wars and Apache troubles deals with these last two groups, we shall confine ourselves in this book to the Chiricahua and Western Apache. This is the story, then, of two groups of Athapaskan-speaking Indians who wrote a thrilling chapter in blood across the pages of southwestern history.

Let it be understood that, from now on, when the term Apache is used by itself, it applies only to the Chiricahua and Western Apache and not to any of the other Apache groups unless so indicated.

After many years of being pushed and shoved about, the Western Apache and Chiricahua probably reached their present locations somewhere around A.D. 1700. Today much of this eastern and southern Arizona and southern New Mexico country west of the Rio Grande is a land of hot, barren deserts—a land of little water and little rain. But it is also a land of rugged pin-streaked mountain ranges—the Chiricahuas, the Whetstones, the Dragoons, the Mules, the Winchesters, the Blacks, the Whites, the Blues, the Gilas, the Pinals, the Mogollons, the Mazatzals. There are as many more if we had the space to name them.

The Apache was perfectly at home in the desert. He had

been taught how to survive in a harsh land. He found food where the white man would go hungry, but his real home was the mountains. He loved the cool pine forests and the thick grassy meadows of the high country. And it was these extensive mountain ranges that allowed him to remain unconquered as long as he did.

The mountains not only provided him with excellent hunting and seed-gathering and fertile ground for his patches of corn and beans and squash, but also their rough and rugged terrain also furnished him a safe retreat from his enemies. And of enemies, the Apache had them in great abundance on all sides.

To the west were the Papago, Pima, and Maricopa Indian tribes, all hereditary foes of the Apache. All three of these desert tribes raided the Apache and were in turn raided by them. Far to the northwest lived the Havasupai and Walapai Indians, both occasional enemies. To the north the Hopi, Navajo, and Zuni Indians were sometimes friends, trading blankets and horses and mules, sometimes enemies, trading blows. To the east and northeast were the several Rio Grande Pueblo Indian tribes, and Spanish and Mexican settlers, none of whom could be classed as friendly toward the Apache. To the south, in Sonora and Chihuahua, Mexi-

co, were the Opata and more Papago Indians, always hostile, and, of course, numerous Spanish and Mexican missions, mining camps, ranches and towns. With the latter, the Chiricahua and Western Apache (particularly the Chiricahua) frequently traded and even more frequently raided. Hostilities sometimes even broke out between Western Apache bands and Chiricahua bands.

The only friendly neighbors the Chiricahua and the Western Apache had were the Yavapai Indians, to the west and northwest of the Western Apache, and the Mescalero Apaches, across the Rio Grande to the east of the Chiricahua.

Though the Yavapai were friendly to the Western Apache, particularly to those bands living next to them, even frequently intermarrying with them, still the Yavapai caused the Apache no end of trouble. This was due to the loose use of the name Apache.

In Arizona in the 1860's and 1870's, both in fiction and in non-fiction, you read of hundreds of raids and robberies and murders, from Prescott and Phoenix westward to the Colorado River, all credited to the account of the wild Apache.

It just wasn't so.

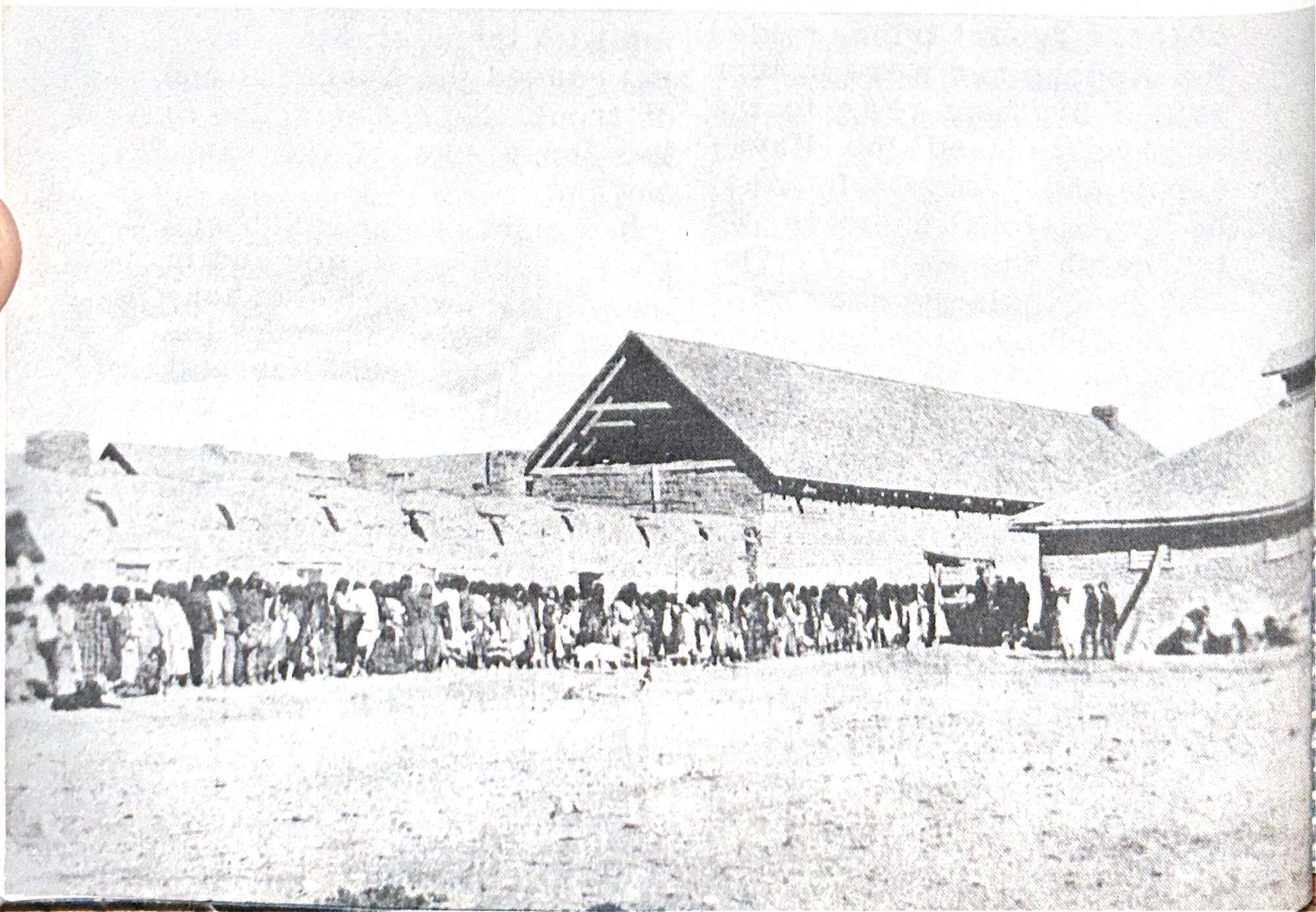
That was not Apache territory. Oh, an occasional Western Apache party might

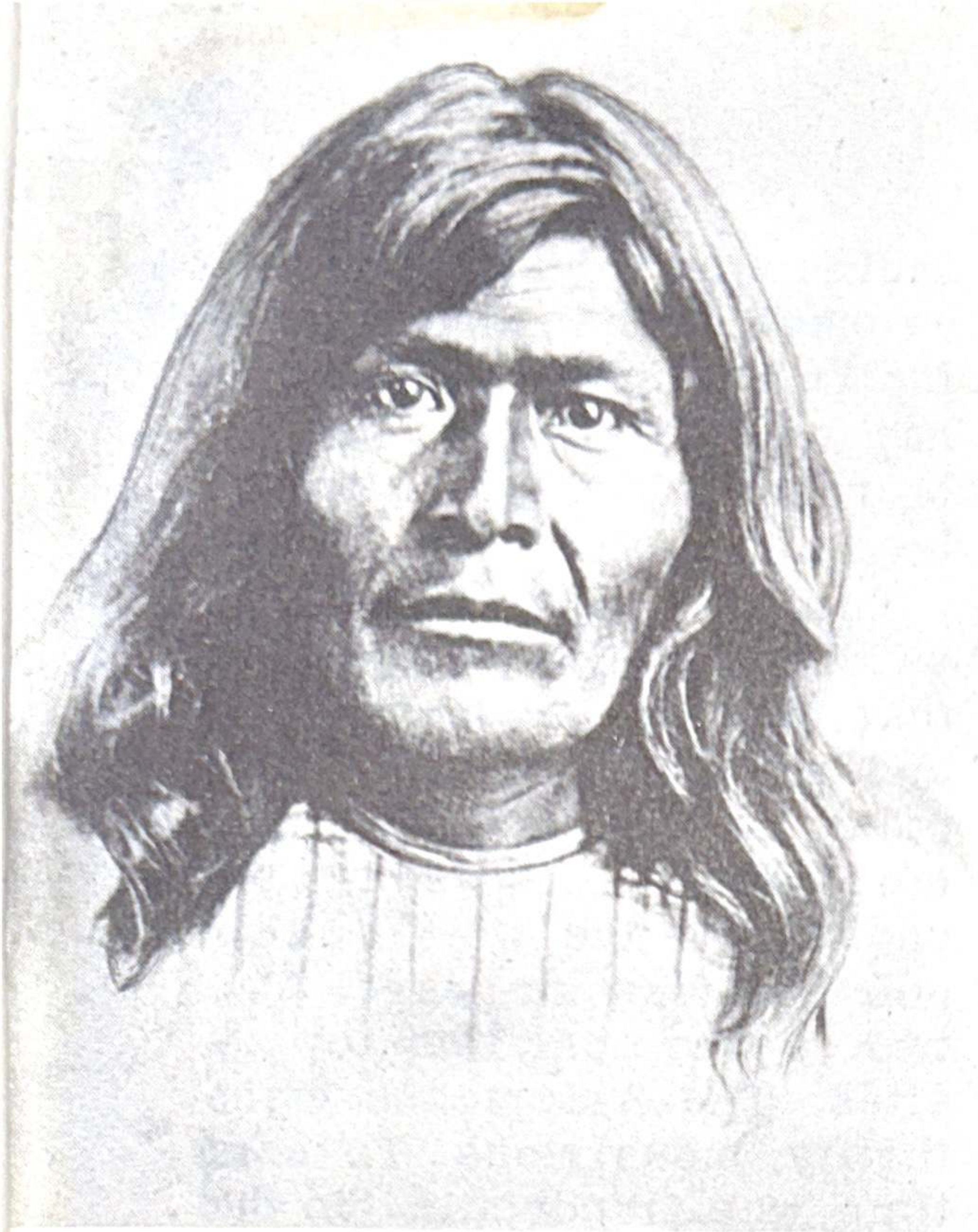
venture into the area, but the principal Indians in that region were the several bands of the Yavapai, ranging from the Verde Valley west to the Colorado River. These Indians were, and still are, usually miscalled Mohave-Apaches or Yuma-Apaches or Yavapai-Apaches. With the exception of those Western Apache who married Yavapai, they were not Apaches at all. They spoke an entirely different language, and their looks and customs were even slightly different. Still, the real Apaches usually got the blame for such Yavapai depredations.

This probably didn't matter greatly since the Chiricahua and Western Apache were usually saddled with nearly every crime that happened anywhere in Arizona and New Mexico. But it is an indication of the atmosphere of the times.

Yet the Apache were no more cruel than other people down through the centuries. They learned a lot of their tricks from their Spanish, Mexican, and American neighbors. As one officer who should know expressed it, the Apache were mere amateurs compared to the Americans and Mexicans when it came to treachery,

Apache Indians waiting in line to receive their weekly rations at old San Carlos, 1880. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.





Victorio, principal Warm Springs leader during the 1870's. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.



Es-kim-in-zin, chief of Aravaipa Apaches, September 23, 1960. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.

Loco, a chief of the Warm Springs Apaches and one of Victorio's successors, 1886. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.



Nana, outstanding military strategist of the Warm Springs Apaches. Rose Collection, courtesy University of Oklahoma.



thievery, and murder of women and children.

However, such acts of the Americans and Mexicans didn't make the headlines. Rarely was a white man ever punished for killing an Indian, not even at the Camp Grant massacre where Americans and Mexicans murdered or took captive over a hundred peaceful Apache men, women, and children. Yet the slightest mistake by an Apache was immediately seized upon and heralded far and wide as another frightful Apache atrocity.

Don't get the equally wrong impression that the Apache were angels. Most decidedly they were not. They committed their fair share of robbery and murder and torture.

But the Chiricahua and Western Apache were human, a statement with which most newspapers and writers of the latter part of the 19th century would violently disagree. A majority, perhaps, of the early settlers of Arizona and New Mexico sincerely believed the only good

Indian was a dead one. To the average white man Apache Indian customs seemed barbarous, heathen, savage. Moreover, they spoke an incomprehensible language.

The fault lay in lack of understanding. The truth was that the white man could not understand the Apache's point of view or ways any more than the Apache could understand the white man's point of view or ways. The two were complete opposites. The Americans were thrifty, industrious. To them time was important. To the Apache time meant nothing. He thought the white man worked himself to death, while the white man thought the Indian was lazy and shiftless.

To cap it all there was never any consistent Indian policy on the part of the administration in Washington.

In the next few chapters we shall attempt to reconcile some of these differences, to show that the Apache lived by a code as rigid and moral in its way as our own.

Apache History



Chapter 3

CHIRICAHUA AND Western Apache recorded history begins with their first mention in Spanish documents. This occurred in the last decade of the 16th century with the appearance of the words Apides or Apiches.

The origin of the name Apache is not clear. Most authorities believe it was probably derived from the Zuni Indian word Apachu, meaning enemy. This is a name which the Zunis use for the Navajo. Some authorities believe the name was derived from the Yavapai Indian word for people, as Apatieh or Apadje.

In any event, the name Apache is a name given to them by outsiders, not by

themselves. Although some of the seven Athapaskan-speaking tribes have names for their own group (as the Navajo term themselves Diné, meaning The People), not all do. The Western Apache have no one name which designates their entire group, nor do the Chiricahua.

Though the other Southern Athapascans can be called tribes in the sense that they formed a fairly unified people culturally and politically, the same cannot be said of the Western Apache and Chiricahua.

Neither of these two groups could be called a single, united tribe. Though each considered itself as one people as differentiated from

others, the association was a loose, not a strong, one. Both the Chiricahua and Western Apache were divided into separate and distinct groups or bands, the Western Apache into five main groups and 20 bands, the Chiricahua into three bands, as indicated in the following classification:

WESTERN APACHE AND CHIRICAHUA DIVISIONS

Western Apache Groups and Bands

White Mountain Group
 Eastern White Mountain Band
 Western White Mountain Band

Cibecue Group
 Carrizo Band
 Cibecue Band
 Canyon Creek Band

San Carlos Group
 San Carlos Band
 Pinal Band
 Arivaipa Band
 Apache Peaks Band

Southern Tonto Group
 Mazatzal Band
 Six Semibands

Northern Tonto Group
 Mormon Lake Band
 Fossil Creek Band
 Bald Mountain Band
 Oak Creek Band

Chiricahua Bands

Eastern Chiricahua Band
 (Chihenne)

Central Chiricahua Band
 (Chiricahua) (joko'nen)
South Chiricahua Band
 (Nedni) (nden-dae)

Western Apache groups seem to have felt greater distinctions between themselves than did the bands of any other Southern Athapaskan divisions—in dialect, in religion, and in social practice.

The Western Apache are roughly divisible in three parts: (1) the Northern Tonto; (2) the Southern Tonto, Cibecue and San Carlos; and (3) the White Mountain people. It seems probable that these three parts, already separated, each moved into the Western Apache area.

In territory and population the White Mountain people had the most land (1,500 people); second, the San Carlos (900 people); third, the Cibecue (1,000 people); and fourth and fifth, the Northern Tonto (450) and Southern Tonto (900), both with about equal territories. Even with their intermarried Yavapai companions, the Northern Tonto amounted at the most to 800 persons, probably less. (All population figures are estimates for pre-reservation times.)

All Southern Athabascan dialects are relatively similar and closely related, but Western Apache, Chiricahua, and Mescalero are more closely related to Navajo

than to Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa Apache.

The Northern and Southern Tonto names are purely geographic, and do not indicate these people are closely related to each other. In fact, the Northern Tonto are the most differentiated from any other group, probably not only because they were about 50% intermarried with the Yavapai, but because they must have been different before they mixed with the Yavapai.

White Mountain people felt themselves nearest culturally to the Cibecue and San Carlos. They considered the Chiricahua fairly close, but different, and they did not talk like the White Mountain.

The three bands of the Cibecue group are most similar to the San Carlos group (Pinal, Arivaipa, San Carlos proper—smallest band of the group—and Apache Peaks bands) and the latter group is recognized by both groups as legendary offshoots from the former, but the legendary separation took place so long ago that a distinction has grown up.

Each of these bands had its own fairly well-defined territory, but there was no political bond between them. Most mountain people are independent, and the Apache were particularly so. The numerous mountain ranges cutting across their territory formed natural barriers

that helped to isolate one band from another and made any cooperation difficult. This is still true today.

Each of these bands was again broken down into smaller units called local groups. As we shall see, it was the local group that normally functioned as the basic social, economic, and military body. It was the largest unit that had a definite leader. From the local group, with occasional help from other neighboring local groups, came raiding and war parties. Only rarely did an entire band unite for warfare or for any other purpose.

With this kind of a political setup, it is easy to understand why there was no organized leadership for an entire band, let alone for the whole tribe.

However, for most people who do not know the facts, this point is difficult to grasp. They can't imagine a tribe that couldn't unite in time of danger or one without a head chief.

Neither could most of the Spanish, Mexican, and American settlers and soldiers. Instead of one head chief with which to deal they had 40 or 50 or more. Treaties made with one local group were not binding on other local groups. One group might be at peace, another at war. It was confusing. Yet for years the white men, Spanish, Mexican, and American, continued

to treat both the Chiricahua and Western Apache as two tribal units, each ruled by a common leader.

Also confusing was the multiplicity of names applied to the Western Apache and Chiricahua division — Ton-tos, Chiricahuas, Gilas or Gilenos, Mimbres or Mimbrenos, Warm Springs, Coppermines, Mogollons, Pinalis, Coyoteros, White Mountains, Janos, Arivaipas. Most of these names were derived from some geographic locality or trait and referred only to local groups or bands. But this seems not to have been known at the time. Many of these names are still incorrectly used today to designate large divisions of Western Apache and Chiricahua.

One other fact to remember is that the Chiricahua and Western Apache were relatively few in number. In the middle of the 19th century, when the Americans began moving into New Mexico and Arizona, there were slightly more than four thousand Western Apache and only about one-fourth that many Chiricahua Apaches.

With that brief introduction out of the way, let us get back to Apache history.

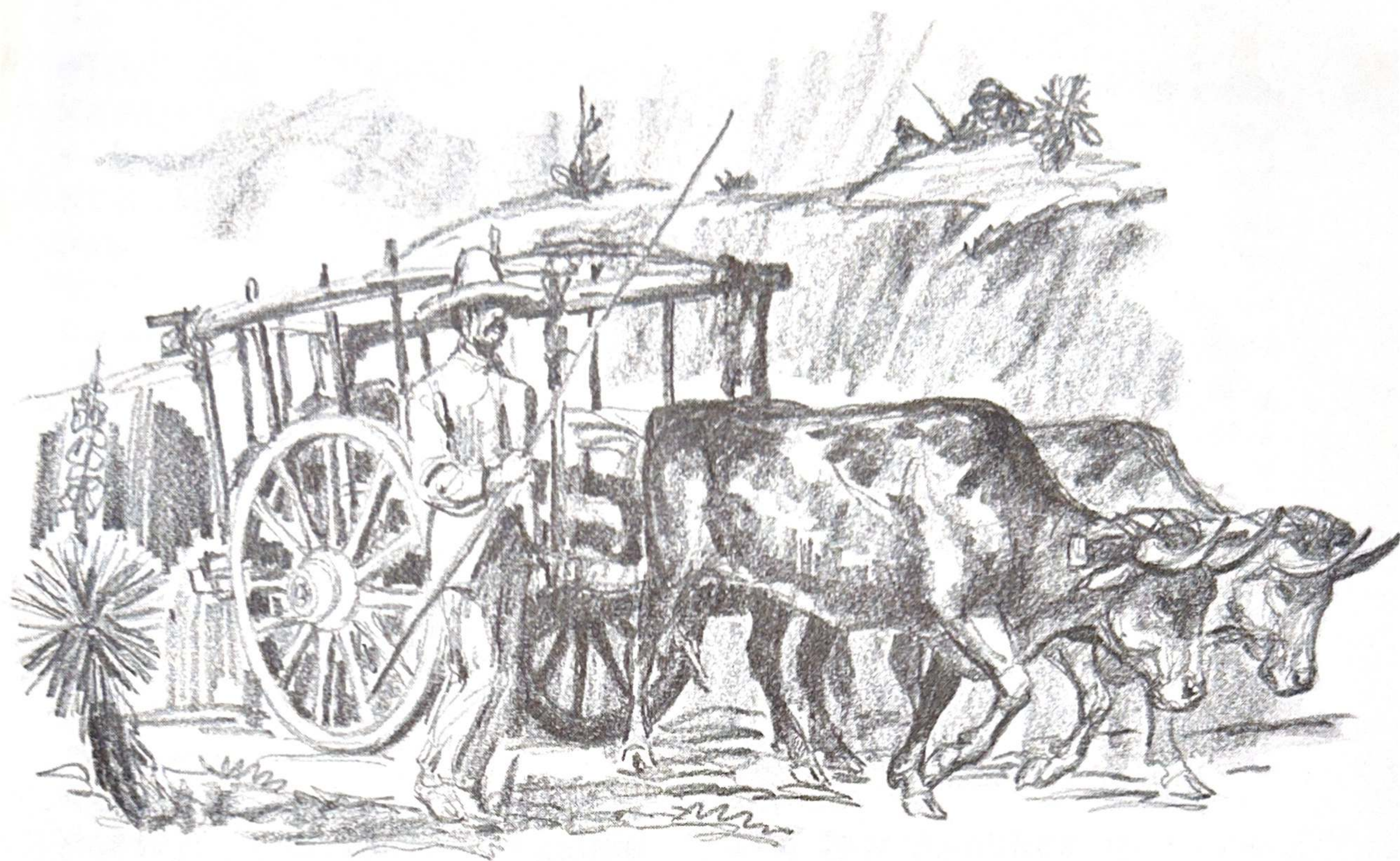
The Chiricahua and Western Apache, along with the other Southern Athapascans, seem to have been relatively

peaceful when first encountered in the 16th century, but that situation didn't last too long. Pushed and shoved about from pillar to post by larger and more powerful Indian tribes and by incoming Spanish and Mexican colonists, the Apache were forced to develop a raiding pattern of life to survive.

In the desert and mountains to which they were finally driven, life wasn't easy. The Apache had to struggle for an existence. Many of the Western Apache raised corn and beans and squash, but the rest of them, and nearly all the Chiricahua, lived entirely off wild game, wild fruits, seeds, and what they could get by raiding.

Long before the coming of the first Americans, the Apaches were raiding Mexicans, Spaniards, and other settled Indian groups. By A. D. 1700 the Spaniards had established settlements northward throughout Sonora and Chihuahua almost to the present United States boundary. Twin prongs ran additionally up the Rio Grande valley to northern New Mexico and up the Santa Cruz River as far as Tucson. Over this area there was a widely scattered Spanish and Mexican and Indian population in missions, mining camps, ranches, presidios, and towns.

This was an ideal situation for the Apaches and



they took full advantage of it. For the next 170-odd years they raided after horses, mules, and cattle; women and children for slaves; and anything else which could be transported northward. The size of the territory in Sonora and Chihuahua over which they raided is extraordinary. They knew the country south of the border as well as they did their own. Every mountain and town and spring had its Apache name. Raiding parties sometimes even reached the Gulf of California. They raided almost as far south as Hermosillo. The town of Magdalena, for example, was almost completely destroyed in 1776.

Raiding into Mexico after plunder became a fixed part of the Apache way of life.

These northern Mexican towns suffered heavily from Apache raids. Many ranches and towns and missions had to be abandoned. In 1746 Father Sedelmayr wrote of the "cruel Apache nation," causing the abandonment of ranches and lands and mines in Sonora. And in 1794 Father Pfefferkorn was writing of the terrible depredations in Sonora at the hands of these fierce, hereditary enemies—a destruction that had been going on for almost 100 years and was still going on.

Don't entertain the idea that this raiding was all one-sided. Far from it. Early in



the conquest the Spaniards needed cheap labor to work their mines and fields, and what was cheaper than an Indian slave? The Spaniards also had the habit of carrying off Apache women and children to be sold into slavery and prostitution. One Spanish governor even boasted he owned some 90 Apache slaves. This the Apaches didn't like. They retaliated in the only way they knew how, by raiding and killing.

To further complicate matters, certain segments of the Spanish and Mexican population secretly encouraged Apache raiding. What was stolen from one mining camp or town found ready sale in

another a few hundred miles away. Horses and mules rounded up in raids in Sonora and Chihuahua were frequently trailed north and traded to Spanish and Mexicans in Santa Fe and other New Mexico towns. Some towns, particularly in Sonora and Chihuahua, flourished on trade in stolen goods.

During the latter quarter of the 18th century the Spanish attempted to put an end to Apache raiding. They carried out a series of intensive campaigns against the Chiricahua and Western Apache. But, try as hard as they might, the Spaniards were unable to subdue the Apaches. In fact, the Chiricahua and Western Apache, together

with the Mescalero and Navajo and Jicarilla, formed a barrier across Arizona, New Mexico, and the Texas panhandle which effectively blunted any northward colonization thoughts the Spanish might have entertained.

By the 1830's conditions were getting so bad in northern Mexico that the Mexican authorities decided to take extreme measures. In 1836 they enlisted the aid of a man named Johnson, one of a small number of American trappers and traders who were beginning to filter into eastern Chiricahua Apache territory. The Apache, and particularly Juan José, their local chief, had treated these first Americans in a friendly manner. Knowing this, the governor of Sonora arranged with Johnson to trick Juan José and kill him and as many of his people as possible.

This Johnson agreed to do for a price. Gathering a party of American trappers, he went to the mining camp of Santa Rita in southern New Mexico and invited Juan José to a feast. Now no Apache ever turned down a free meal, and Juan José and his men, women, and children turned out en masse. While the eating and drinking was still going on, Johnson and his men brought out some sacks of corn meal and heaped them on one side of the plaza, directly in front of a screening of branches.

The Apaches needed no second invitation to help themselves to the sacks and crowded around the stack. Immediately from behind the screen came the ear-piercing blast of a heavy gun. Some say it was a blunderbuss, others a six-pounder, still others a howitzer. Whatever it was its load of bullets, nails, stones, and iron chains tore a bloody path through the closely grouped Apaches. Those that survived the blast were quickly cut down by the rifles of Johnson and his men.

The few Apaches that escaped the slaughter lost no time in spreading the news of Juan José's murder. Johnson and his men barely made it back to safety in Mexico, but 22 innocent American trappers were ambushed and killed. The newspapers immediately heralded this as another example of Apache brutality. Nothing was said about Juan José and the other Apache men, women, and children so treacherously murdered. This was the beginning of long years of Apache warfare against the Americans. Yet even then Mangas Coloradas, Juan José's successor, spared the lives of three American trappers.

More fuel was added to the Apache troubles in the early 1840's when the state of Chihuahua entered into scalp-hunting contracts with

Americans. James Kirker, John Glanton, Gave Allen, and others began collecting scalps of Apache men, women, and children. However they put themselves out of business when they became too greedy and began mixing black Mexican tresses with those of the Apache. This was too much for the Mexicans, and the American scalp hunters were lucky to escape with their own hair still intact. Nevertheless, within a few years the Mexican authorities were again offering up to \$200 for Apache scalps and up to \$250 for Apache prisoners. A number of Texans took advantage of the offer.

In spite of all this, most of the Apache leaders still treated the occasional parties of American trappers and traders as friends.

On February 2, 1848 with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at the close of the Mexican War, the United States took over all of Western Apache and Chiricahua territory north of the Gila River. Five years later in 1853 the Gadsden Purchase gave the United States the responsibility for the rest of Apache territory.

The Mexican authorities were happy to get rid of the stubborn Apaches. They had had enough of them. Let the Americans worry about them now.

When the Americans began

moving into their new country, the Apaches were also pleased. They thought the newcomers, the White-Eyes as they called them, would chase out the hated Mexicans and life would be better. But they soon learned their error. The Mexicans stayed, and the White-Eyes began coming in even greater numbers than the Mexicans ever had, crowding in closer and closer to the ancient Indian hunting and camping grounds. Though the Apaches didn't realize it, they were in the path of the westward expansion of an empire.

As part of the treaty the United States government was supposed to keep their new red wards, the Apaches, at home north of the border. This, however, was a difficult, if not impossible, task. The new boundary line meant nothing to the Apaches. They had long been accustomed to raiding into Sonora and Chihuahua, running off horses and cattle and mules, taking anything portable that wasn't nailed down, kidnapping women and children, killing the men. They couldn't understand why now, all of a sudden, they should be asked to stop. Weren't the Mexicans still their enemies? Besides, if they didn't raid the Mexicans, they themselves would not be able to live.

Still more and more Americans came into New Mexico and Arizona—prospectors,

miners, trappers, ranchers—building cabins, farming the land, mining the hills, establishing roads, killing the deer and other animals.

Even though harried and oppressed on all sides, many of the Apaches attempted to be friends with the Americans. Mangas Coloradas, one of the greatest Chiricahua (actually a Mimbrenño) Apache leaders, had, over the years, all but forgotten what had happened to his predecessor, Juan José. In the 1850's gold was discovered in western New Mexico and a large party of miners flocked into the area.

Mangas Coloradas didn't like having that many Americans in the heart of Apache country. He tried to get them to leave by telling them he knew of even more gold to the south in Mexico and offered to guide them to it, but the miners were suspicious. They tied Mangas, whipped him, and then turned him loose.

That was the worst thing they could have done. There was no greater insult to an Apache chief. Mangas Coloradas never forgot that whipping. He wasted no time in striking back to wipe out the outrage in blood. Raiding, torturing, killing, he swept across southern New Mexico and Arizona.

Again bold black newspaper headlines proclaimed news of more horrible massacres of innocent people by the Apaches. Again, nothing at all was said about the hundred lashes Mangas Coloradas had received.

Treaties were made with a number of Apache chiefs. The Pinal Apaches, for example, made a treaty with the United States Army in 1859. But, within less than 5 months, the Americans broke it.

Another celebrated Apache chief, Cochise,* leader of a large band of Central Chiricahua, is usually pictured as one of the principal Apache raiders and killers. Yet, as

*Ordinarily, Cochise's name has been given as meaning wood.

July 20, 1961 Mrs. Eve Ball of Ruidoso, N.M., kindly introduced my family and me to Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Chihuahua on a visit to their home at Mescalero, N.M. Eugene, the son of the noted Central Chiricahua chief Chihuahua, as a boy surrendered with his father in 1886, and as of 1963 was one of the five living survivors of the captive Apaches who were forced by the U. S. government to make the train trip to Florida.

The same persons, plus Artist Harold A. Wolfinger, Jr., of Denver, Colo., on Apr. 23, 1962, visited the Chihuahuas again. In questioning Eugene, who was a little hard of hearing but far from senile, I was amazed when he stated that Cochise's name was neh

the records show, he was, for years, one of the best friends the Americans had among the Apaches. In the late 1850's he had given permission for a stage line across Chiricahua Apache territory. He and his band camped at a spring nearby the Bowie stage station in Apache Pass and contracted to supply it with wood. On occasion he and his men even protected the station from renegade Apache raids, killing at least four of the Indians.

That peaceful situation came to an end in October 1860, and not through any fault of Cochise's. A raiding party of Western Apaches had driven off a herd of cattle from a ranch on the Sonoita River. They had also carried off a half-Apache boy. A cavalry detachment was promptly sent out from Fort Buchanan, the only army post at that time in Arizona. In command was a hard-headed shavetail, George

Bascom, fresh out of West Point. To Bascom, like so many of his contemporaries, all Indians were bad.

Arriving at the Bowie stage station, Bascom demanded that Cochise return the cattle and the halfbreed boy. Bascom refused to listen to Cochise's plea of innocence and, despite the fact the Indians were there under a flag of truce, he arrested Cochise and half a dozen of his companions. But Bascom had underestimated Cochise. With a knife he had hidden, Cochise slashed a hole in the rear of the guard tent and made his escape. Cochise captured a number of hostages of his own and offered to return them for his own people held prisoner, but Bascom refused. There have been several different versions of what happened next. Whatever the true story, Cochise killed the six white men he held and the army hanged six Apaches, including Cochise's brother and

des ee chin, meaning Pink Shirt—a name obviously parallel to that of his contemporary, the noted chief of the Mimbrenos, Mangas Coloradas (Red Sleeves) and possibly applied for a similar reason: the wearing of captured clothing.

F. Stanley in his *Apaches of New Mexico*, p. 360, reports a garbled version (as, unfortunately, is so frequently the case): "Roan Shirt—Manga Colorado" [sic], but he is only slightly misquoting Jason Betzinez' book, which on p. 50 mentions "Chief Roan Shirt (Mangas Colorado)" [sic], which is an odd thing for a Chiricahua, albeit an Eastern band member, to say. A transcribing or editorial error is indicated.

Eugene Chihuahua denied the word meant Roan Shirt, and said Pink Shirt is the correct translation.

two of his nephews.

These acts of treachery toward Mangas Coloradas and Cochise brought a new era of death and destruction to Arizona and New Mexico.

In 1860 there were only three towns of any size in what is now Arizona, Tucson, Tubac, and Yuma (then Colorado City), together with a handful of scattered mining camps. At the outbreak of the War Between the States the United States troops were withdrawn. The Apaches leaped to the conclusion that the country was being given back to them. They began raiding and pillaging mining camps and settlements. The white population of Tubac and most of the miners sought refuge in Tucson.

In July 1862, occurred the biggest battle ever fought between Apaches and Americans. A large force of United States troops on their way from Tucson to New Mexico were attacked in Apache Pass by a combined army of Eastern and Central Chiricahua under Mangas Coloradas and Cochise, who had caused stone breastworks to be built, probably the first such defensive manoeuver by Western Indians. As a prelude to the battle Mangas and his warriors ambushed and slaughtered a party of 14 miners. The Apaches held the pass until the troops brought up two howitzers. The ear-shattering reports of the

cannon and the explosive shells proved too much for the Indians. Mangas Coloradas was wounded during the battle and was taken by his men to Janos, Chihuahua, Mexico, where a Mexican doctor, under threat of his own death, saved his life.

But Mangas Coloradas had nearly reached the end of his seventy-odd years. With age came a desire for peace. In January 1863, through an offer of peace, he was tricked into an army camp in New Mexico and murdered.

With the murder of Mangas Coloradas both the army and civilians began an intensive campaign against the Apaches. Through poisoned corn meal distributed to some of the Indians and through similar acts of treachery, the Apaches, particularly the Western Apache, lost a few score individuals. But such things didn't put an end to Apache raids. Victorio had succeeded Mangas Coloradas as chief of the Warm Springs group of the Eastern Chiricahua. He and other Apache chiefs fought back.

More gold was discovered in the newly created Territory of Arizona, more people flocked in, new towns such as Prescott, Florence, and Phoenix were founded.

More forts and military camps were established—Lowell at Tucson, Bowie in Apache Pass, Whipple and Verde near Prescott, Crit-

tenden on the Sonoita, Grant on the San Pedro River, Goodwin near the Gila River, McDowell near Phoenix. But still the United States army couldn't control the Apaches.

According to John P. Clum, one of the better Indian agents in the 1870's, the United States spent some 38 million dollars from 1862 to 1871 in its wars to exterminate the Apaches. During that period they killed less than 100 Apaches, including old men, women, and children, at the cost of the lives

of more than 1,000 soldiers and civilians.

By the late 1860's a few friendly Western Apache leaders were bringing their groups into the army camps and forts for protection against other army troops and wild-eyed civilians.

Unfortunately, most settlers couldn't tell a friendly Indian from a renegade outlaw. The frontier people couldn't realize that there were both good and bad Indians. To them an Indian was an Indian, and all were sav-

John P. Clum, one of the better Indian agents of the 1870's and his

"bodyguard." Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.



ages. They wanted to kill or imprison all the Apaches so that they could take over the Apache land for mining and settlement.

Little good was said about the Indians. News about Apaches had a habit of growing as it traveled. One or two Apaches might get drunk and kill a white man. By the second or third telling, the number of Apache raiders had increased to half a dozen. By the time the tale reached the nearest army post, the Apaches would number 15 or 20, with one of the famous Apache chiefs in command, and their innocent victims of the horrible massacre would have increased to 5 or 6.

Most newspapers were advocating the complete extermination of the Apaches. The Arizona Weekly Miner in 1869 even printed a recipe for making bad Indians good, a mixture of strychnine and brown sugar made into pills and dropped where the Apaches could find them. The Weekly Arizonan in 1870 suggested that the United States government follow the Sonora practice of offering up to \$200 for every Apache scalp. This, that newspaper said, would soon find a solution to the Indian problem.

In 1871 occurred the famous or infamous Camp Grant Massacre. A large group of Arivaipa Apaches under their chief, Eskiminzin, had come in to camp a few miles from

the army post for protection. The Apaches were living in peace, cutting wild hay and selling it to the post. This was too much for certain citizens of Tucson. They wanted the Apaches exterminated, not pampered and given work. Early one morning a mob of Americans, Mexicans, and Papago Indians descended on the sleeping Indian camp and completely demolished it, killing nearly 100 Indians, mainly old men, women, and children, and carrying off some 20 children to be sold as slaves. A wave of indignation swept the east, demanding an investigation. The ringleaders were brought to trial but were speedily acquitted. What was wrong, said Arizona, with killing Apaches?

Finally in 1871 the War Department gave to Gen. George Crook the task of taming all Apache bands in Arizona excepting the Chiricahua. Gen. Crook knew Indians, and within a very short time he knew as much about the Apache as any white man. In a few swift campaigns he subdued the Western Apache and Yavapai and got them settled on reservations at San Carlos on the Gila River and at Fort Apache in the White Mountains.

In the meantime Gen. O. O. Howard, with the assistance of a white friend of Cochise,



Gen. George Crook, Nantan Lupan or "Grey Wolf" (Mrs. Eve Ball gives the translation "Tan Chief" for this) to the Apaches. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.

Tom Jeffords, had made a peace treaty with the Central Chiricahua and established them on a reservation in southeastern Arizona. The Southern Chiricahua under their principal chief, Juh,* soon came up from Mexico

and joined them. Most of the Eastern Chiricahua had already been more or less settled on a reservation in their old homeland in western New Mexico.

For a few years there was an uneasy peace in Apache

*Ed. note: Chiricahuas pronounce this "hon," like "hoe," with just a suggestion of a final n. Eugene Chihuahua did not know any meaning for the name. Betzinez says "Long Neck."

territory. Gen. Crook wanted to make the Indians self-supporting. He started the practice of hiring Apaches as scouts and paid them the same as white scouts. He also wanted to educate them in farming and stock-raising so that they could sell their surplus food and hay and cattle to the army, but he was fighting for a lost cause. He was bucking the crooked game of politics and big business. The contractors in Tucson, Globe, and other towns wanted to supply both the army and the Indians. They didn't want any competition. There was too huge a profit in it for them.

Even with most of the Apaches now settled on reservations, conditions were not greatly improved, at least from the point of view of the Indians. Greedy contractors and sticky-fingered Indian agents swindled the Indians at the drop of a hat. Some agents sold to mining camps whole wagon loads of supplies that should have gone to the Indians. Others doctored scales to make them weigh heavy and even falsified reports. Crooked contractors added sand to the flour and rocks to sacks of sugar supplied to the Indian agencies. Corrupt whiskey peddlers preyed upon the

Indian's weakness for liquor.

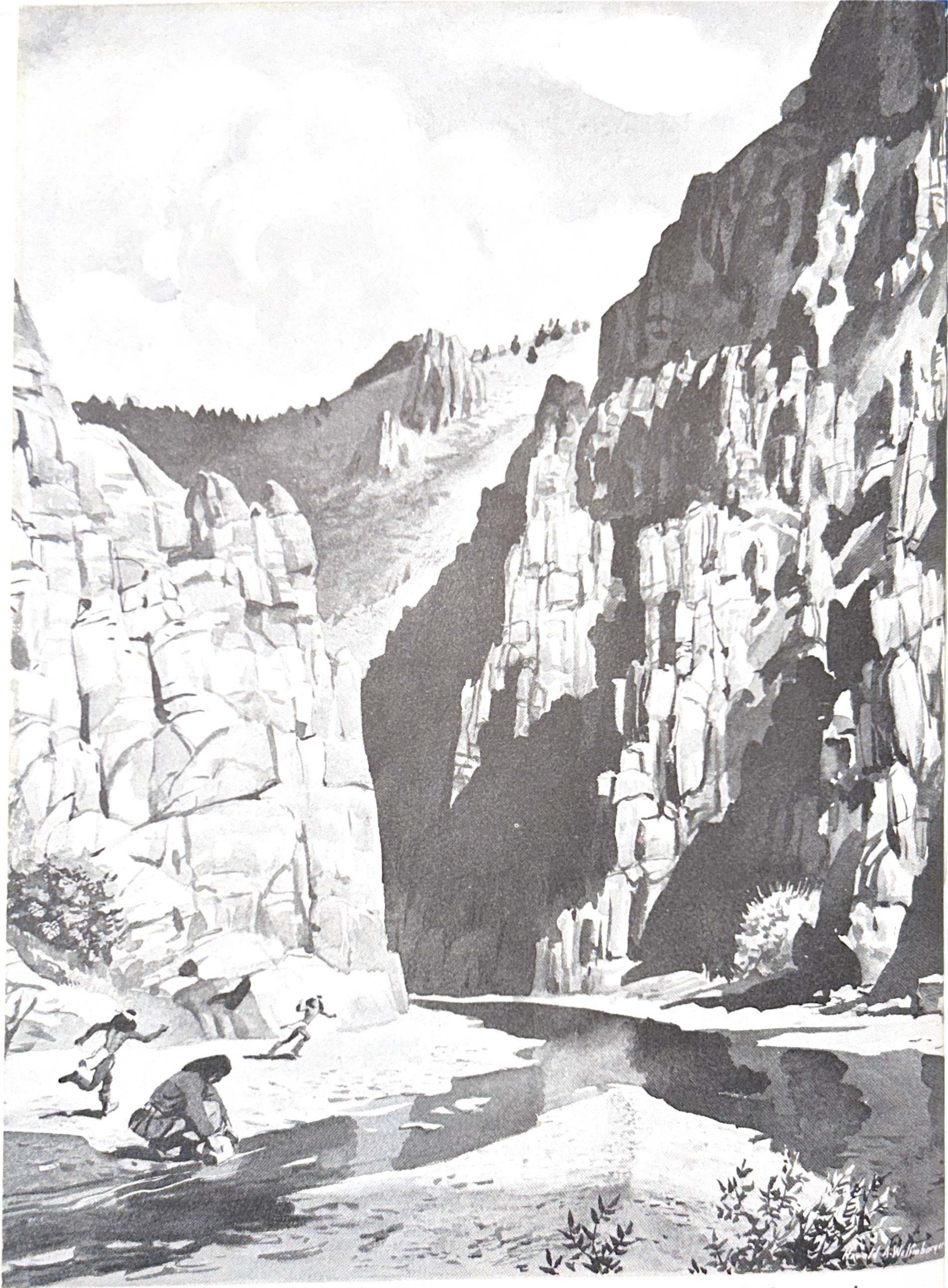
Indian agents came and went. Some were good, some were bad. Each had his own ideas how to handle the Indians. Even the best of them had little knowledge of Indians and Indian behavior. By the time they began to learn, they usually left.

There was no such thing as a consistent Indian policy. One day the Apaches would be treated as prisoners of war, the next as friends. The only policy Washington had was to herd 3-4,000 Apaches on a reservation, order them to be good, and put them on starvation rations. Frequently there was divided authority between the civilian agents and the military. This caused more friction.

The government issued regulations forbidding the ill treatment of women, including the right of a husband to cut off the nose of an unfaithful wife,* and forbidding the making and drinking of tiswin, a mild beer made from fermented corn. These orders were bitterly resented by the Apaches. They had been doing these things for centuries. They thought as long as they kept the peace and didn't go out on raids they were keeping their part of the bargain.

'It is impossible to detail all

*Ed. note: Marvin Mull, in 1963 chairman of the San Carlos tribal council, stated a San Carlos widower could have been similarly punished if he "ran around with women" within a year after his wife's death.



The Alamosa canyon in peaceful times was a delightful, cool playground.

of the broken promises and agreements made by the whites with the Indians, broken, I might add, in most cases by the Americans. In view of the treatment the Apaches received, it is amazing that so few rebelled and left the reservation.

At first, separate reservations were set aside for the different Apache groups. That worked for a time. Then someone in Washington decided the Western Apache and the Chiricahua should be integrated. Cochise had died in 1874 and some of the Southern Chiricahua on the reservation had begun raiding across the border into Mexico. To put an end to this and other trouble, including the killing of a trader, the government closed down that reservation. Consequently the Central and Southern Chiricahua were crowded onto the Western Apache reservation. So also were the Tonto Apache and a bunch of Yavapai from the Verde. Even the Eastern Chiricahua reservations at Canada Alamosa in New Mexico was abolished and the Apaches there moved to the Arizona reservations. Neither the Chiricahua nor the Western Apache were pleased with the deal. Even the different Chiricahua bands weren't happy about being forced to live with their relatives. No one wanted to be integrated; they were all deep-dyed segrega-

tionists. Each group wanted a reservation of its own.

Quite a few Chiricahua decamped for Mexico when they heard the news. Others wandered back to their old reservation in western New Mexico and remained there until they were forcibly removed to the Western Apache reservation in Arizona.

For the next 9 or 10 years the Chiricahua were in and out of the reservation. When they felt they were being mistreated or discriminated against, they up and left. When they began to run short of ammunition or when winter drew near, they rode back in and surrendered, to receive food, new blankets, and the freedom of the reservation.

You read about 100-odd Apaches breaking out of the reservation and going on a raid. It sounds like a formidable force. What the writer frequently forgets to tell you is that only about one-fourth of this number was made up of fighting men, warriors. The other 75 or so were women and children and elderly men.

It was a rare occurrence when several hundred Apache warriors got together at any one time. It probably happened only once or twice in the entire period of Chiricahua and Western Apache history. At the battle in Apache Pass in 1862 the combined Apache forces of

Cochise and Mangas Coloradas have been estimated as high as 6-700. This is certainly far too high. Even counting women and children and old men the total number of the Eastern and Central Chiricahua bands was not much more than 700 or 800. Probably a figure somewhere between 200 and 300 warriors would be more nearly correct for the Apache Pass battle.

Most Apache depredations were the work of small parties, from a dozen or two up to 50 or 75 warriors. Yet with such small numbers, often hampered by women and children, the Apaches defeated vastly superior forces, better equipped, better armed, better fed.

Old Nana's raid in the summer of 1881 is typical. After Victorio and many of his mixed band of Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches had been killed at Tres Castillos in Mexico in 1880, Nana had taken charge of the survivors. Nana was in his 70's at the time, half blind and badly crippled with rheumatism. Yet this old man led 15 Chiricahua and some 25 Mescalero Apaches on a raid from Mexico through southwestern New Mexico. In less than 2 months he and his band covered over 1000 miles of desert country, fought 8 battles and won them all, killed over 30, wounded many more, and captured

hundreds of horses and mules.

In the summer of 1881 a White Mountain Apache medicine man began inciting the Apaches by telling them when the white men left, their dead chiefs would return to lead them to prosperity. In August of that year, when soldiers from Fort Apache tried to take the medicine man prisoner at Cibecue, the Indians, including half a dozen Apache scouts, rebelled and killed a number of soldiers and one officer. But the medicine man was also shot and killed and, lacking a strong leader, the Apaches soon came in and surrendered.

During September the Chiricahuas at San Carlos thought the soldiers were coming to round them up because of the Cibecue outbreak and, under the leadership of Juh, many of them left the reservation and cut a bloody path across the border into Mexico.

In March 1882, three of the Apache scouts who had rebelled at Cibecue were hanged at Camp Grant and two others were sent to Alcatraz. It was thought the trouble was ended.

April found a band of some 50 Chiricahua warriors under Naiche, one of Cochise's sons, and Chato slipping across the border to hit the San Carlos Reservation. At gunpoint they forced Loco and his band of Chiricahua

warriors, women, and children to return with them to Mexico. Fighting off attacks by several army troops, they retreated across the border.

The territories of Arizona and New Mexico were again in an uproar, expecting an attack at any moment. Ranches were barricaded or deserted as their owners fled to the safety of the nearest town. Farmers tilled their fields with rifles strapped to their plow handles.

But no attack came. Across the border in Mexico the Chiricahuas were having troubles of their own. They had been surprised and assaulted by a Mexican column, losing over 100, mostly women and children. Now reduced to less than 600, of whom only 150 were warriors and boys big enough to fight, the Chiricahua withdrew to the high Sierra Madre to recuperate. A few months later the Mexicans again treacherously attacked a peaceful party of Indians trading at Casas Grandes, killing a dozen warriors and capturing some 25 or 30 women.

Even though the Chiricahua were temporarily out of action, there was trouble brewing once again among the Western Apache. In July 1882, some 50 Cibecue Apaches fled the reservation. Raiding San Carlos and killing the chief of agency police, they took off to the north, pillag-

ing ranches, stealing horses, killing those who got in their way. Soon they were overtaken by the army and either killed or captured at Chevelon's Fork.

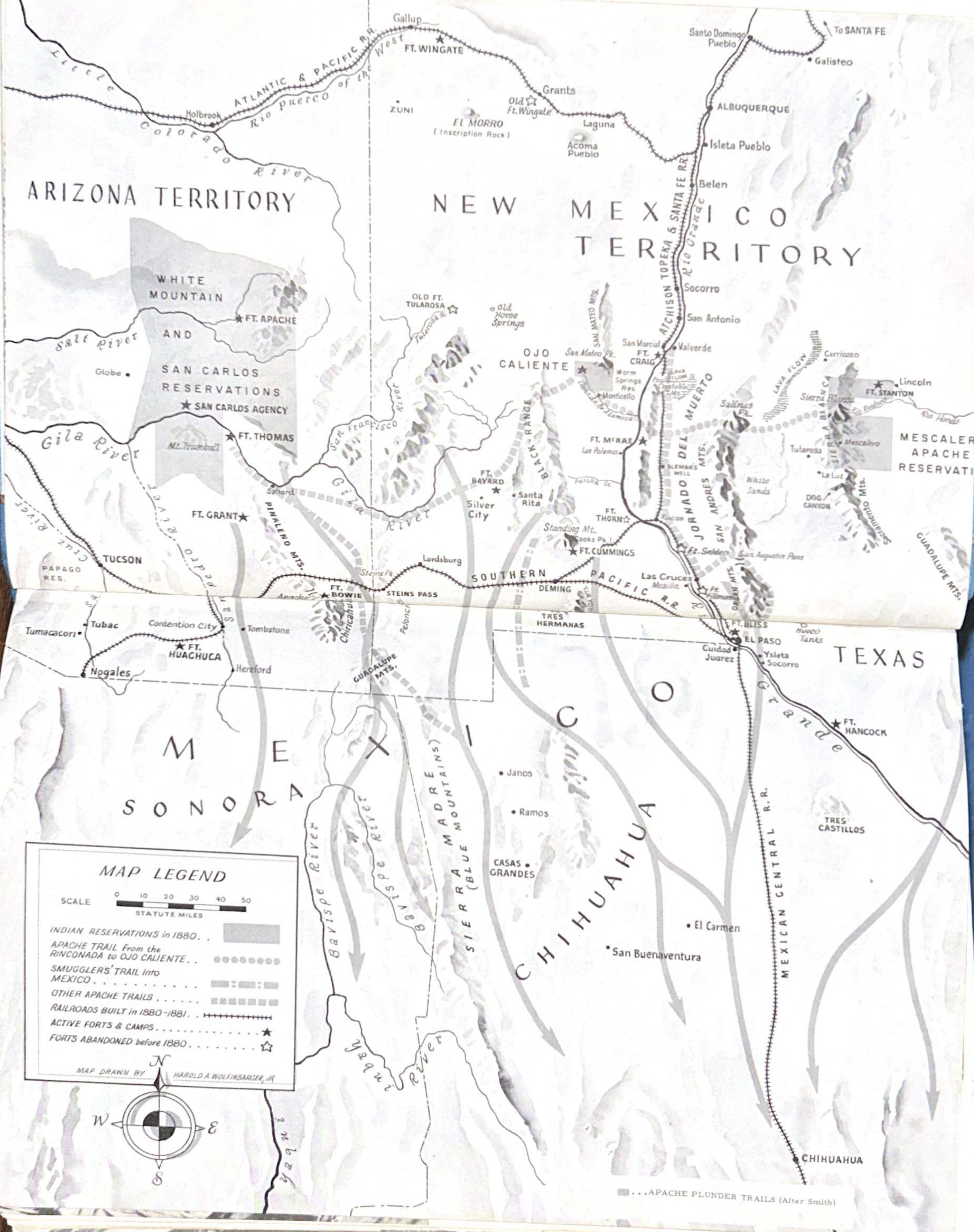
With the Chiricahua still on the loose and unrest among the Western Apache, Gen. Crook, who had left Arizona in 1875, was recalled to the territory. Crook, through his personal influence with the Indians, was soon able to calm the fears of the Western Apache and to avert another outbreak, but it took him considerably longer to bring in the renegade Chiricahuas.

For a few months there was peace in Arizona and New Mexico. Then, in March 1883, Chato and a band of 26 Chiricahuas began raiding in Mexico and across the border. With 4,000 Mexican troops and 500 American soldiers chasing them, Chato and his little band traveled 75 to 100 miles a day, stealing fresh horses from every ranch they passed, murdering and plundering as they fought their way across New Mexico and Arizona and back over the border. They killed at least 25 Mexicans and Americans and lost only 2, one killed in Arizona and the other captured by the army.

Gen. Crook knew that the only way to capture the Chiricahuas was to trail them across the border back to their stronghold in the Sierra

ARIZONA TERRITORY

NEW MEXICO TERRITORY

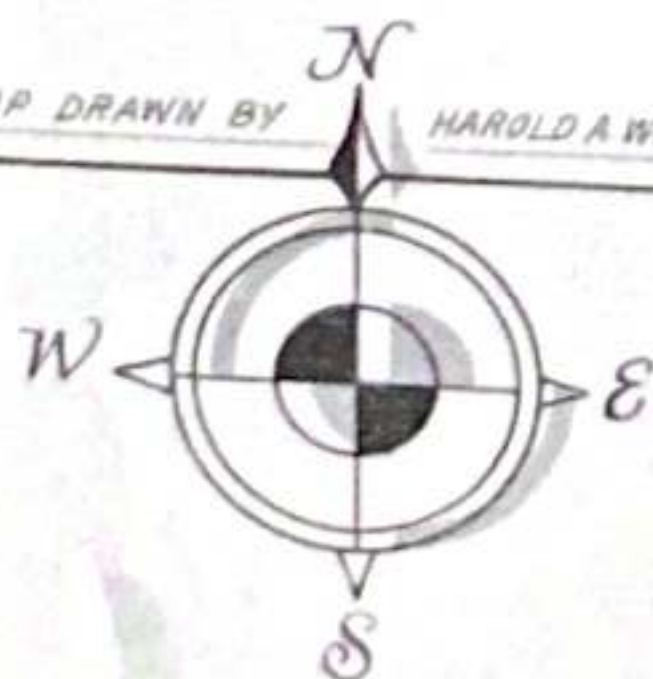


MAP LEGEND

SCALE 0 10 20 30 40 50
STATUTE MILES

- INDIAN RESERVATIONS in 1880.
- APACHE TRAIL From the RINCONADA to OJO CALIENTE.
- SMUGGLERS' TRAIL into MEXICO.
- OTHER APACHE TRAILS.
- RAILROADS BUILT in 1880-1881.
- ACTIVE FORTS & CAMPS.
- FORTS ABANDONED before 1880.

MAP DRAWN BY HAROLD A. WOLFINBARGER, JR.



... APACHE PLUNDER TRAILS (After Smith)

Madres. Grudgingly, he obtained permission from the Mexican government to cross the line. Peaches, the Apache taken captive, offered to guide them, claiming he was a White Mountain Apache married to two Chiricahua women and that he had been taken off the reservation against his will.

With Peaches as guide and with the aid of nearly 200 Apache scouts, Crook surprised the Chiricahuas deep in the Sierra Madre mountains. One by one the chiefs of the various local groups came in to confer with Crook.

At these conferences, because Crook singled out one Apache with whom to do all his conferring (remember that Victorio and Juh were dead), this one Apache rose to great prominence. From that time on no single Apache name was more widely known and feared than that of Geronimo.

Mention the word Apache and someone is bound to say, "Oh, yes. Geronimo!"

Very few people remember such names as Loco, Nana, Victorio, Juh, Mangas Coloradas, Cuchillo, Delgadito, Chato, Chihuahua, Naiche, Bonito, Dutchy, Gordo, Zele, Mangus, Sanchez, Diablo, Pedro, Eskiminzin, Santos, or Casadora. Even the name Cochise is not as well-known as that of Geronimo.

Yet Cochise and Mangas Coloradas and Victorio and

Juh and Nana and others of the above listed Apache leaders were greater warriors and chiefs than Geronimo, and were so rated by their own people.

* As was mentioned earlier, there was no organized leadership for the entire tribe, either among the Western Apache or the Chiricahua. Each local group had its own chief and subchiefs. If, for any reason, the several local groups comprising a band united, the most prominent of the local group leaders took charge. Thus, at any one time in these two tribes there would be 40 or 50 or more chiefs and subchiefs.

Geronimo, according to most authorities, was born a member of the Southern Chiricahua band, although he, himself, said he was born in eastern Arizona as a member of the Bedonkohe Eastern Chiricahua band. His father, Tahlishim, the Gray One, had been the son of Southern Chiricahua chief Mahko, but married an Eastern Chiricahua Bedonkohe woman and in accordance with the custom of matrilocal residence, moved to her homeland, and thus relinquished any hereditary right he had to chieftainship. Geronimo's (Spanish name applied because of his bravery in fights in Mexico) Apache name was go yak klah (one who yawns). Betzinez says he was born where Clifton,



Geronimo on the extreme right standing next to his son. Two unidentified warriors on left. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.

Arizona now stands. Juh was the principal leader of the Southern Chiricahua until his accidental death in the summer of 1883 in Mexico.

⊛ So far as is known, Geronimo was neither a chief nor a subchief. By showing skill and daring as a fighter and by utilizing his knowledge as a shaman or medicine man, he became the leader of a small group of renegade warriors. (A number of Chiricahua living today deny that he was a medicine man, any more so than any other average Chiricahua, each of which felt he or she had some kind of

“power.”) But, in the words of half a dozen army officers and civilian agents who knew him, he was feared and disliked by a majority of the Chiricahuas. Many who followed him did so only through fear. After Juh’s death, Geronimo claimed the leadership of the Southern Chiricahuas, but his following was confined to less than 30 men.

In 1880 during a census taken on the Apache reservation, the names of the chiefs of each group had been noted. Such chiefs as Juh, Loco, Nana, Naiche, Bonito, and many others were so record-

ed, but Geronimo was not then listed as a chief.

Geronimo has been called the politician of the Chiricahuas. He was a man of words as well as action. He seems to have been an eloquent speaker. As one man who knew him said, Geronimo would rather talk than eat, and he loved his food.

Not until the summer of 1883 was Geronimo recognized as a prominent figure, and then it appears to have been a case of high-powered advertising. Gen. Crook thought he could reach the other Apache leaders through Geronimo because of Geronimo's ability as a speaker. Geronimo's reputation was made. Other chiefs were hardly mentioned in the reports that were sent out to the newspapers. It was all Geronimo. Geronimo quickly became a national figure. Many of the subsequent raids of Naiche, Nana, Chihuahua, and other leaders were credited to Geronimo. It was an easy mistake to make back in those days of primitive communications.

During the conferences Crook promised the Chiricahuas that they would not be punished for their past misdeeds provided they returned to the reservation and behaved themselves in the future. This the Indians agreed to do, and the entire party started for the border.

Crook reached San Carlos

on June 23 with only 325 Chiricahuas—273 women and children and 52 men, including Nana, Loco, and Bonito. The others, still with their arms, had stopped below the border, supposedly to find other Chiricahuas still in the mountains and to round up their stock. Geronimo said he would come in in 2 moons (4 weeks).

Crook ordered Lt. Britton Davis and a company of Apache scouts to wait at the border and meet the other Indians as they crossed. Davis had a long wait. Two moons came and went and still no sign of the hostiles.

The newspapers had a field day; they wanted to know who had captured whom. Gen. Crook came back with the women and children while the other Chiricahuas continued raiding and killing in Sonora and Chihuahua. Nobody believed the rest of the Chiricahuas would keep their word and come in and surrender peacefully. Also the newspapers and the vast majority of the territorial citizens were against the policy of no punishment for the renegade Chiricahuas.

Still Lt. Davis and his scouts waited at the border. One by one the moons continued to pass and still no signs of the hostiles. Then, early in 1884, Naiche and Zele and a dozen or so warriors and twice that many women and children rode



Sub-chief Zele, who prevented many Apaches from following Geronimo on his raids, shown with his wife. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.

into Davis's camp. On February 27 Chato and Mangus and 50 or 60 more Chiricahuas showed up at the border and were escorted to San Carlos. Finally, on March 14, 1884, some 18 moons after the date he had originally set, Geronimo and 15 or 16 men and some 70 women and children rode up, driving ahead of them a huge herd of horses and cattle stolen south of the border.

A sigh of relief went up when all of the renegades were safely back on the reservation. Again Gen. Crook

had brought peace to Arizona and New Mexico.

Because of friction between the military and civilian authorities at San Carlos, The Chiricahuas, now reduced to 512, were moved in May 1884 to Turkey Creek near Fort Apache. This was higher and more wooded country of the Transition Zone and suited the Indians better than the lower, treeless flats of the Lower Sonora Life Zone around San Carlos.

Crook allotted the Indians land along the stream and put them to work farming. Some

of them took to it, but many were not happy. Perhaps if the attempt had been made to make them herdsmen rather than farmers, the experiment might have been successful.

Even though peace had come again, it was an uneasy peace. There was no trouble with the Western Apache. Over the years they had become accustomed to reservation life. Farming was not something strange to them as it was to the Chiricahuas. Most of the Western Apaches had always raised crops of corn and beans and squash. Moreover, they were still in their original homeland, which, fortunately for them, had not happened to lie athwart major trans-continental routes. They were not displaced persons like the Chiricahuas.

In addition, the Chiricahuas bitterly resented the fact that they had been forced to give up their stolen stock. They claimed they had been promised protection for both them and their horses and cattle.

There was also considerable ill-feeling between Chato and Geronimo. This dissension split the Chiricahuas into two groups, two-thirds favoring Chato, the balance, through the influence of Naiche and Chihuahua, favoring Geronimo.

By the spring of 1885 two other factors added more fuel to the flame of discontent sweeping the Chiricahuas.

These were the prohibition against the making and drinking of tiswin, and the prohibition against mistreating their wives. The Chiricahuas were incensed at this interference with their personal affairs. With Nana, Geronimo, Naiche, and Chihuahua stirring them up, the Chiricahuas grew more and more unruly.

Lt. Davis was aware that a dangerous situation was developing and sent a message to Gen. Crook. But the message was pigeonholed along the way and never delivered. Within a few days it was too late.

On May 17, 1885, after an attempt on Lt. Davis's life had failed, 144 Chiricahuas jumped the reservation and headed for Mexico. Of this number, 35 were men, 8 boys, and 101 women and children, with Geronimo, Naiche, Nana, Mangus (son of Mangas Coloradas), and Chihuahua leading them. Chato and Loco and Zele managed to keep the other three-fourths of the Chiricahuas on the reservation.

According to the story given by one army officer, Geronimo would not have had so many with him if he had not told them that Lt. Davis had been killed and they would all be hanged for the murder. When Mangus learned the truth, he and his group split off and never rejoined the others. A little

later Chihuahua and a party also split off from the main group.

Closely pursued by soldiers, the Apaches fought their way across southern Arizona toward Mexico, their trail marked, as usual, by blood. Again ranches were deserted as their owners sought refuge in the closest town. Once again farmers plowed their fields with rifles slung on their plow handles.

Gen. Crook placed guards at every water hole and mountain pass along the border, with mounted patrols on the move day and night. But still small bands of Chiricahuas managed to slip

through and raid and plunder and kill all across southern Arizona and New Mexico before retreating to their stronghold in the Sierra Madre.

Over the next 7 or 8 months about all the troops did was chase the renegades back and forth across the border. The campaign cost the lives of 2 officers and 8 soldiers, 73 American civilians, 12 reservation Indians, and an untold number of Mexicans (some authorities say as high as 100). The Apaches lost just 6 men, 2 boys, 2 women, and 1 child, most of whom were killed by Apache scouts, not by regular army troops.

Left, Chato, as he appeared in 1886. Right, Cochise's younger son, Naiche, with his wife. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.





Gen. Miles, 1886. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.

Finally, late in 1885, Crook realized that these tactics weren't getting any place. Consequently he sent a picked battalion of Indian scouts, Chiricahuas and Western Apaches, across the border on the trail of the hostiles.

Crook's strategy paid off. In January, after Crawford's tragic death at the hands of Mexican troops, the Apache scouts contacted the hostiles. Geronimo promised to meet Crook in 2 moons near the border. Nana and 8 other Indians accompanied the scouts back to the border.

On March 25, 1886, Crook

met with Geronimo, Naiche, and Chihuahua. After two days of talks Geronimo agreed to surrender on the condition that they would be sent east as prisoners for a period not to exceed 2 years, their families to accompany them. Crook prepared to leave the next day for Fort Bowie. But that night a whiskey peddler sneaked into the Chiricahua camp and began selling liquor to the renegades. Before the night was over Geronimo, Naiche, and 16 warriors and a dozen of the younger women took off for the mountains.

The remaining four-score Chiricahuas kept their word and surrendered. Crook immediately packed them up and shipped them off to Florida. But, because he had let Geronimo and the other Chiricahuas slip out of his grasp, Crook resigned his command.

Gen. Nelson A. Miles, the noted Indian fighter, succeeded him. Miles took no chances. He asked for more troops and they began converging on Arizona and New Mexico from all over the west. In addition, Miles enlisted 300 more Apache scouts.

Miles also introduced the heliograph, by means of which messages in Morse code could be flashed up to 50 miles across the desert. This speeded up communications greatly. The Apaches

knew what was going on but couldn't do much about it.

But even before Miles could get fully organized, Geronimo and his tiny band raided across the border into southern Arizona, killing and pillaging up the Santa Cruz Valley. Finally, under pressure from the army, the Apaches turned back toward Mexico. Then began one of the most intensive manhunts in history. Some 5,000 troops and nearly 500 Apache scouts wore holes in the seats of their britches chasing the handful of hostile Chiricahuas. Hundreds and hundreds of Mexican troops were also in the field.

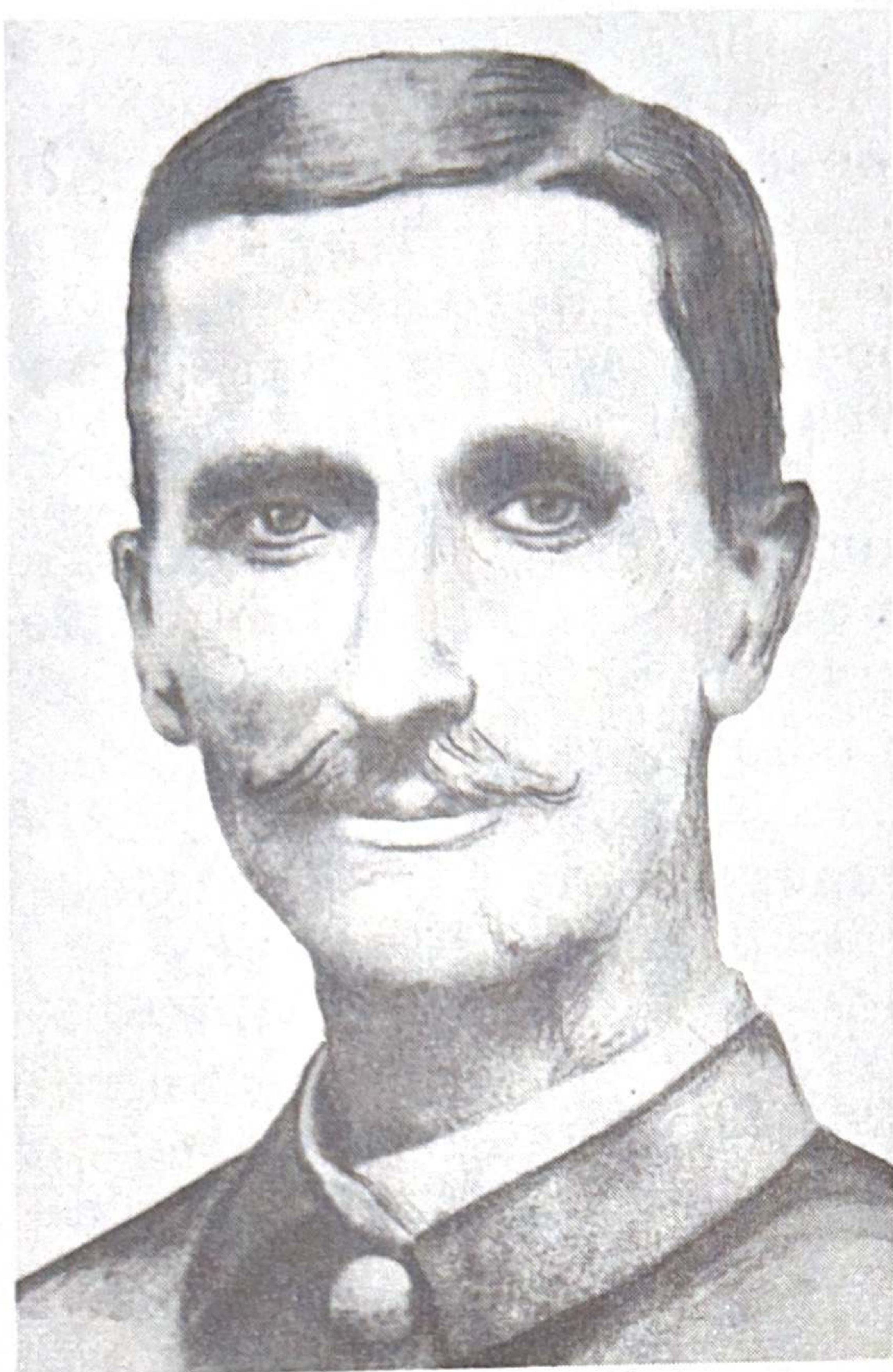
They gave the Chiricahuas no rest, keeping hot on their trail. But they could not stop the Apaches from raiding and killing. Deeper and deeper into Mexico the pursuit continued.

Gen. Miles had, in the meantime, been giving considerable thought to the more than 300 Chiricahua Apaches still on the reservation at Fort Apache. Though these Indians had remained peaceful, dozens of them even serving as scouts under both Crook and Miles, Miles believed them a great danger. In August, in spite of the fact that these Indians had done nothing to deserve such a fate, Miles rounded them up and put them on trains for a prison camp in Florida.

But Geronimo and Naiche

and their handful of warriors and women were still running loose deep in Mexico, still closely followed by Miles's soldiers. Geronimo and his people, however, were very weary from being hunted. Besides, winter was fast approaching. He sent out a message that he wanted to give himself up. Miles immediately sent Lt. Charles B. Gatewood and two Chiricahua scouts to contact Geronimo. Gatewood was successful. On September 3, 1886, he brought the Chiricahuas to Gen. Miles. Within days the last of the Chiricahua Apaches were on a heavily guarded train heading for Florida. With them, also as prisoners of war, went the two Chiricahua Apache scouts who had located their camp and had helped persuade them to surrender. Like Chato and Dutchy and Noche and the other Apache scouts who had faithfully served the government, they were rewarded for their work by being sent to prison. In all, 502 Chiricahua Apaches were shipped to Florida.

The Apache wars had ended for all time, but the government's broken promises and treachery continued to haunt the Chiricahuas. They had surrendered with the understanding that they would be united with their families in Florida. But the women and children were held at Fort



Lt. Charles B. Gatewood. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.

Marion while most of the men were confined in the old Spanish fort of St. Augustine. Geronimo and 16 of his warriors, however, were kept under guard at Fort Pickens, several hundred miles away.

The close confinement and the unaccustomed humid climate were hard for free desert dwellers to bear. Many of them didn't make it. By 1887 their numbers were reduced to 447. Something had to be done.

Interest in the Apache's case was aroused throughout the nation. Dozens of solutions were proposed but none

was workable. One proposal suggested the Indians be sent back to their native home, but Arizona's citizens raised such a storm of protest that it was quickly dropped.

The controversy did produce one result. Late in 1887 all the Apaches were transferred to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama. They were just getting used to this when, suddenly, they received orders to move to Fort Sill, Oklahoma. This action brought another storm of protest, now from New Mexico. This state's worthy citizens said the Apaches would be within 500 miles of their former homeland. This, argued the citizens, was much too close for comfort.

In spite of this, in the fall of 1894, the 407 Indians still alive were moved to the military reservation at Fort Sill. The Apaches were pleased with the move. Here they were back in open country more like their desert country than anything they had seen since. They were able to construct houses of their own and to farm small patches of land. Naiche and Chato and a number of others even became government scouts.

But a promised allotment of more land never materialized. And in 1911 there was an attempt to take away what little land they did have. This was too much for the Chiricahuas. They got together

and asked for a place where they could live without constant fear of removal. For a wonder their plea was heard. In October 1911 the government sent a delegation of Chiricahuas back to New Mexico to look over several possible sites for a permanent home.

The Apaches had hoped to return to their former Warm Springs reservation at Canada Alamosa in western New Mexico. But one look changed their minds. The country wasn't the same as they remembered it. Overgrazing and erosion had all but ruined the pleasant little valley. Streams were eroded; gravel flats covered former meadows. Many of the trees had been chopped down.

After considerable discussion and dissension, they finally decided on the Mescalero Apache reservation east of the Rio Grande. Not all the Apaches wanted to go. Many of the Warm Springs band had made homes and places for themselves in Oklahoma and elected to stay. When the time came to move, in April 1913, only 187 Apaches, mostly Central Chiricahuas, boarded the boxcars for New Mexico.

There the Chiricahua Apaches have remained with their Mescalero and Lipan cousins, not quite home but close enough to taste and smell the warm desert dust and wind.

Of all the Chiricahua chiefs who led their fighting warriors during the 1880's, only Dutchy met a violent death. He was killed at Mount Vernon, Alabama, in 1891. Loco and Nana died of old age soon after they reached Fort Sill. Chihuahua also died at Fort Sill, of tuberculosis. Geronimo himself lasted until February 7, 1909. Naiche and Chato spent their declining years on the Mescalero reservation.

All of the great Chiricahua Apache chiefs are gone, but many of their children and grandchildren are still living on the Mescalero reservation, and near Apache, Oklahoma.

It seems safe to say that the Chiricahua Apache suffered more trouble and hardship than any other Apache group. All through the 18th century and the first half of the 19th centuries Spanish and Mexican attacks continued until the territory was acquired by the United States.

The quarter of a century from 1861 to 1886 was, with only a few short years of peace, one of continual warfare between the Chiricahua and the United States Army. Heavily outnumbered but never outfought, the Chiricahua were reduced from around 1,000 to about half that number. In addition, the entire tribe was made prisoners of war and removed from their homeland.

There were larger Indian tribes in North America than the Chiricahua Apaches. But large or small, none will be remembered longer than this Apache group who spread terror and destruction and death across Arizona and New Mexico and northern Mexico in the 1860's-1880's.

In comparison, the Western Apaches came through the trying years of the 19th century relatively unscathed. With the Chiricahua acting as a buffer between them and the Spaniards and Mexicans and later the Americans, the Western Apache started out the 1860's with a population of approximately 4,000. According to the census of 1890, they ended up with 4,138. And they still occupied their homeland.

Yet, even though they were not considered prisoners of war, the Western Apache were not a great deal better off than their relatives, the Chiricahuas.

They were still subject to the whims of Indian agents, good and bad. The army still maintained its posts at Fort Apache and San Carlos. Other forts such as Grant, Thomas, Verde, and Bowie still stood guard duty around the edges of the reservation, not to be abandoned until the 1890's.

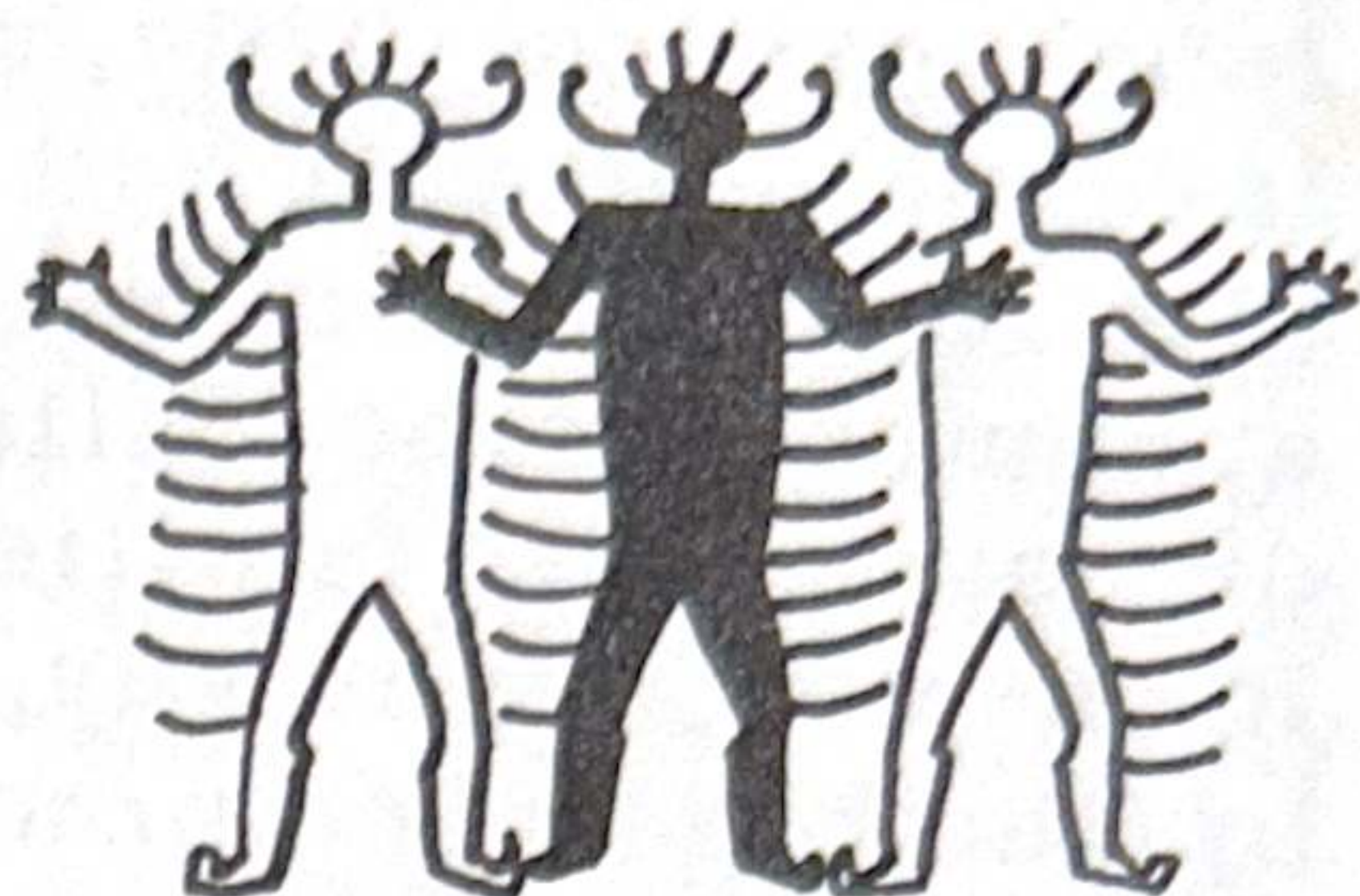
And, over the years, greedy white men gradually chipped away at the Apache lands. When minerals or other valuable resources were dis-

covered on the reservation, agitation was initiated to get the land involved removed from the reservation. The town of Globe, Arizona, is an example. This area was originally part of the San Carlos agency. In 1876, a globe-shaped boulder of nearly pure silver, reputedly, was discovered in rich veins of silver. Miners poured into the country and it was not long before the strip of land was taken away from the reservation and given to the whites. This happened not once but half a dozen times during the next quarter of a century.

What the white man could not get one way, he got another. Early in the peaceful 1890's the neighboring ranches ventured to covet the excellent grazing land on the reservation. Through leases, they soon took over some of the best watered parts. By 1920 about five-eighths of the San Carlos reservation alone was under lease to white ranchers. Through the illegal grazing of thousands of unregistered head of cattle, the land was being destroyed. Beginning in 1923, with the coming of agents who looked out for the interests of the Apaches, the leases were gradually terminated and the land given back to the Indians.

With it one page in Apache Indian history came to a close and another opened.

Apache Tribal Organization



Chapter 4

IN CHAPTER 3 Apache tribal organization was briefly discussed. There it pointed out that neither the Western Apache nor the Chiricahua formed a tribe in the usual political and cultural meaning of the term. What we call a tribe was formed by a loose association between a number of groups or bands. The people in these various groups or bands considered themselves as one people as opposed to outsiders, but there was no strong feeling of unity, each group or band believing itself distinct, separate, from the other groups or bands.

Since there are slight differences between the Western Apache and Chiricahua

in their organizational pattern, the two will be considered separately.

The Western Apache claimed the territory from Flagstaff and Showlow on the north to the Santa Catalina, Rincon, and Whetstone Mountains on the south, and from a line running from Camp Verde to Superior in the west nearly to the Arizona-New Mexico Border on the east. (See end paper maps)

The Western Apache group was not, and never has been, a political group. There was no chief, no council of leaders controlling the whole group. Like the larger group, each of the bands or semi-bands also had its recognized territorial limits. Like the

group, there was no single chief controlling a band. Within each band or semi-band there were a number of local groups. This was the largest unit that had a definite leader. It was made up of a number of so-called joint or extended families, in-laws you might say, united by kinship and common residence. The joint family was composed of a man and his wife, their unmarried sons and daughters, their married daughters, daughters' husbands, and their offspring.

You will note that the married sons are missing from the above list. No, it wasn't an oversight. Like so many primitive and not so primi-

tive people, the Western Apache, as well as the Chiricahua, were matrilineal. That is, the married couple must make their home with the wife's people. This contrasts with our patrilineal system where the husband normally determines the place of family residence.

Considering the much smaller population of the Chiricahua, the territory which they controlled was extensive. They roamed over southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and northern Sonora and Chihuahua, Mexico. The Rio Grande was their eastern boundary, their northern limit about the present town of Quemado,

Geronimo's camp showing captive boys, Santiago McKinn, center, and a colored boy, left. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.



New Mexico. Their western boundary ran just east of the Arizona-New Mexico line to Duncan, Arizona, and thence southwest across Arizona, and thence southwest across Arizona through Willcox, Benson, and Elgin and south into Sonora and Chihuahua.

In this vast expanse there were only three relatively small bands. The Eastern Chiricahua band ruled almost all of Chiricahua territory west of the Rio Grande in New Mexico. This band, termed the Red Paint People (Chihenne) by the Chiricahua themselves, has been variously called Warm Springs or Ojo Caliente, Mimbres or Mimbren̄o, Coppermine, and Mogollon Apache. These names more properly, perhaps, designate local groups within the band, named after some geographic feature or locality.

The Central Chiricahua, the band to which the name Chiricahua was first applied, ranged over the mountains and deserts of southeastern Arizona and a corner of extreme southwestern New Mexico. This band was often called Cochise Apache after their most noted leader. Their most famous strongholds were the Dragoon Mountains, the Chiricahua

Mountains, and the Doz Cabezas Mountains.

To the south, in the Sierra Madre Mountains of Sonora and Chihuahua and the Hatcher Mountains of southwestern New Mexico, ranged the third or Southern Chiricahua band. Members of this band were often called Enemy people (Nedni)* by the Chiricahua themselves. They have also been termed Renegade Apaches or Janos Apaches.

In the Chiricahua bands we see a similar division as in the Western Apache. Within each band were several local groups composed of a number of joint families. The local group is the largest unit having a leader and important functions, while the camp or joint family is the normal unit of everyday living. Each band claimed a certain territory, and each local group within the band had its own portion of this territory for hunting and seed gathering.

In Chiricahua, then, we have a sequence ranging from the tribe to the band to the local group to the joint family. Among the Western Apache one more step, the large group, is added between the band and the tribe. Otherwise, the two are nearly identical in organization.

*Ed. note: better pronounced nden-dah-ay.



Top, corn harvest at East Fork. Ears are tied in bundles for drying and winter storage.

Middle, sun-drying bundles of corn.

Right, hand-shelling corn which has been pit-roasted in the husk. Western Ways Photos by Herbert.



The Apache Way of Life



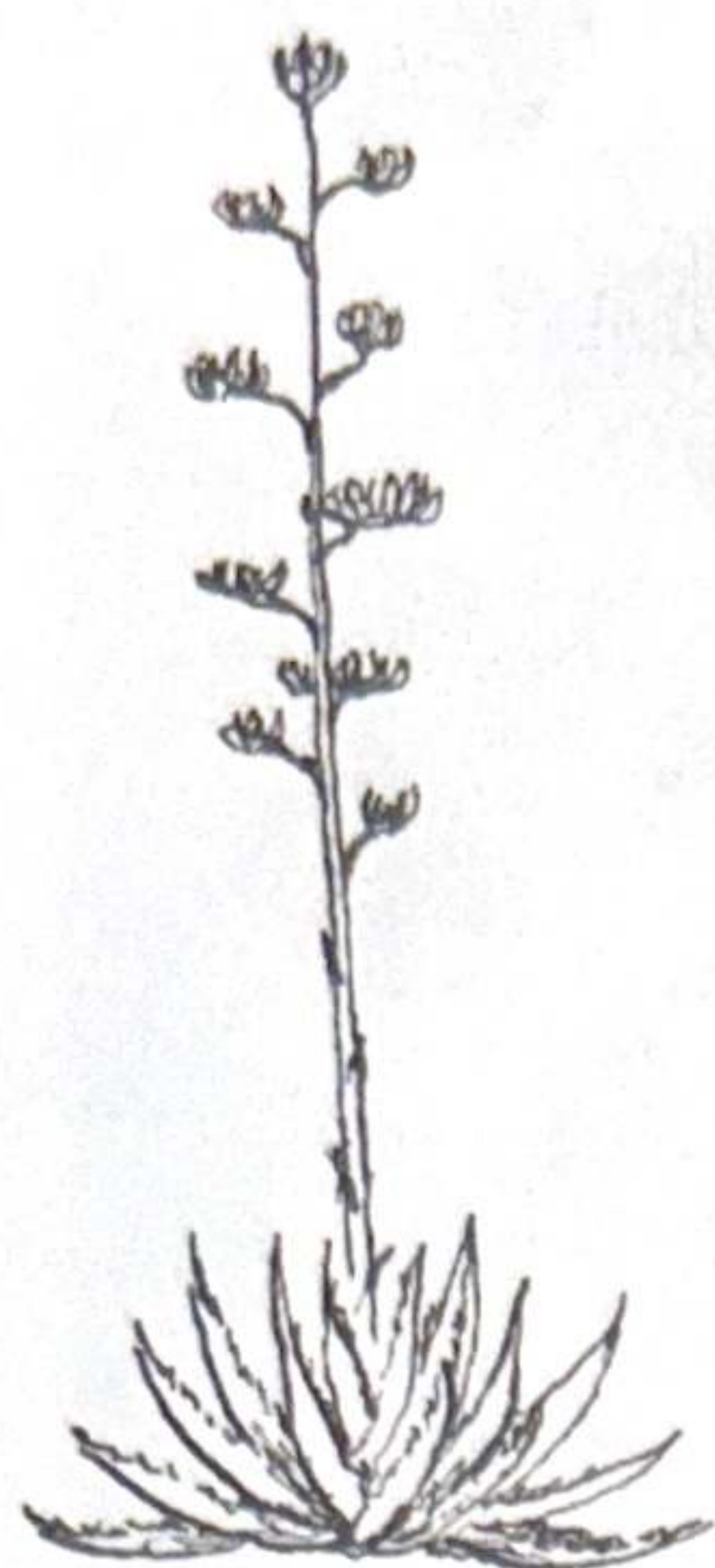
Chapter 5

THE APACHE Indians are perhaps better publicized than any other southwestern Indian tribe. The name Apache is practically a household word, and known everywhere. The French have even taken over the term and applied it to the worst element of their underworld characters, robbers and assassins. Yet most of what has been written about the Apaches has dealt with them as fighters, raiders, killers, telling and retelling the same old stories about the Apache wars.

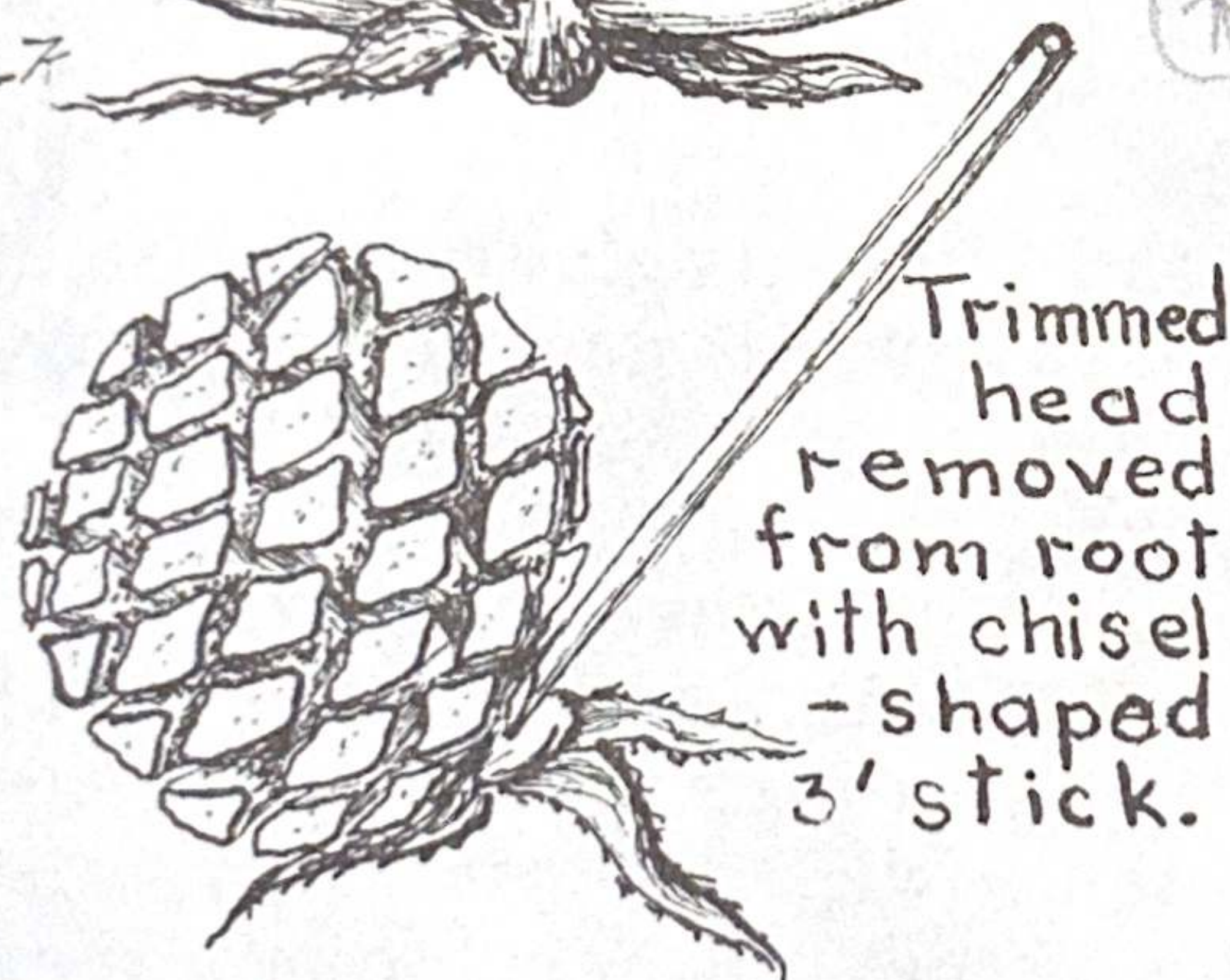
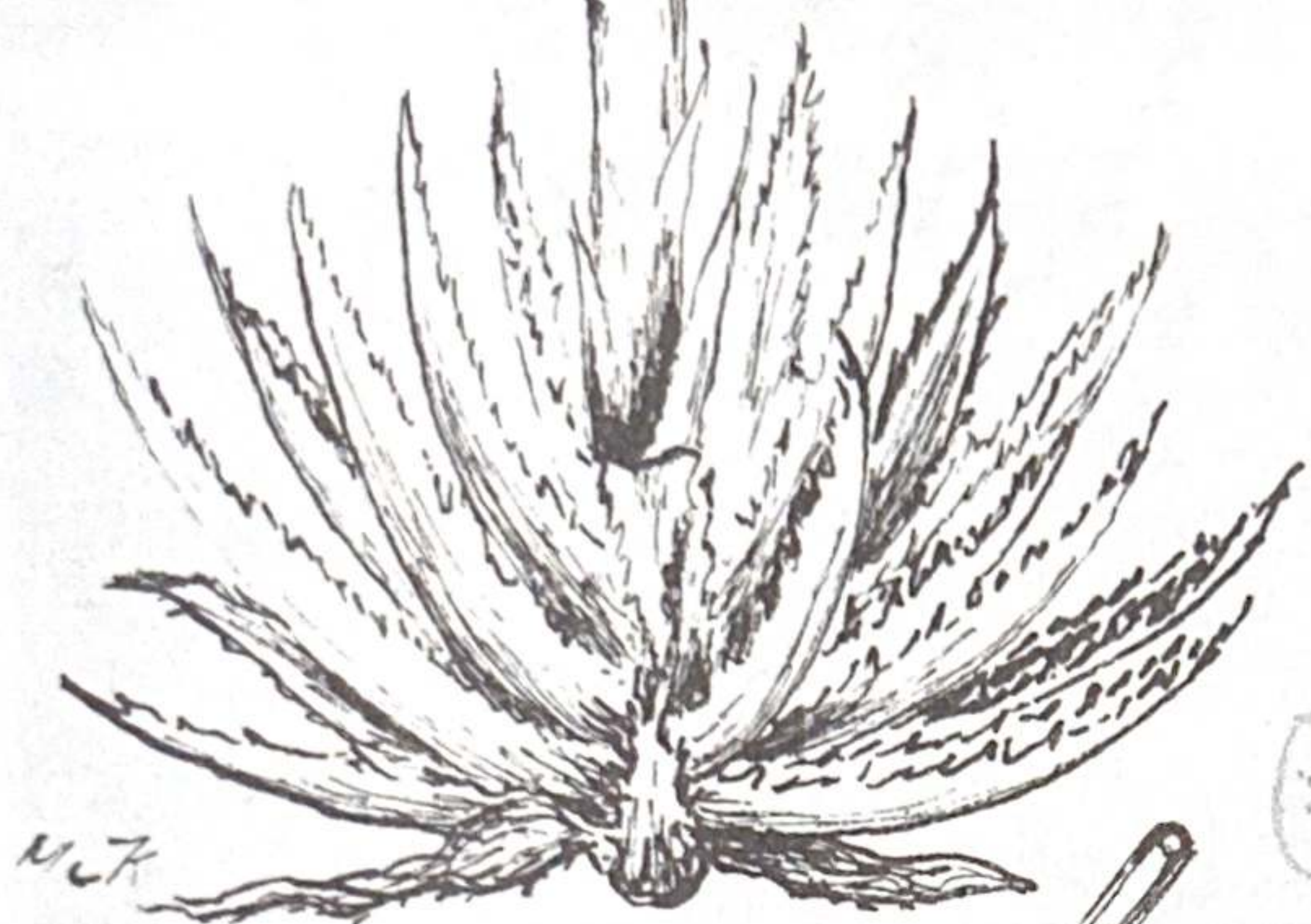
Such questions as how the Apaches made their living, what kind of houses they occupied, what foods they ate, what types of implements

and utensils they made and used, what games, if any, they played, or what kind of religion they practiced, are seldom, if ever, answered.

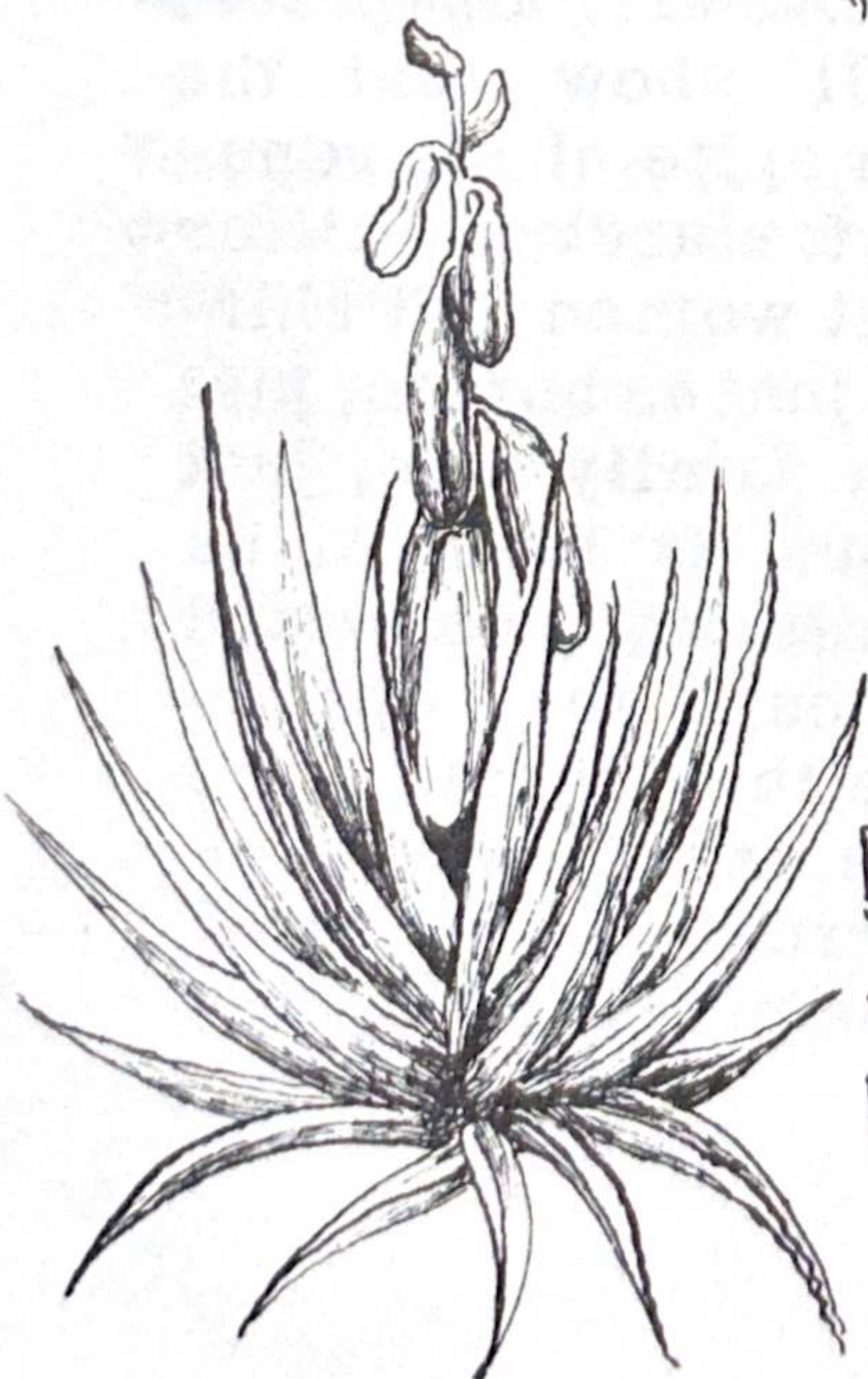
The answers to these and many other similar questions will be given in this and the following chapters. These will show that the Apache, in spite of his reputation as a torturer and killer of innocent women and children, was just as human, just as much a family man, just as religious as most of us today. While no one would want to call the Apache angelic, neither should he be pictured as an inhuman savage. The truth, as we shall see, lies somewhere in between.



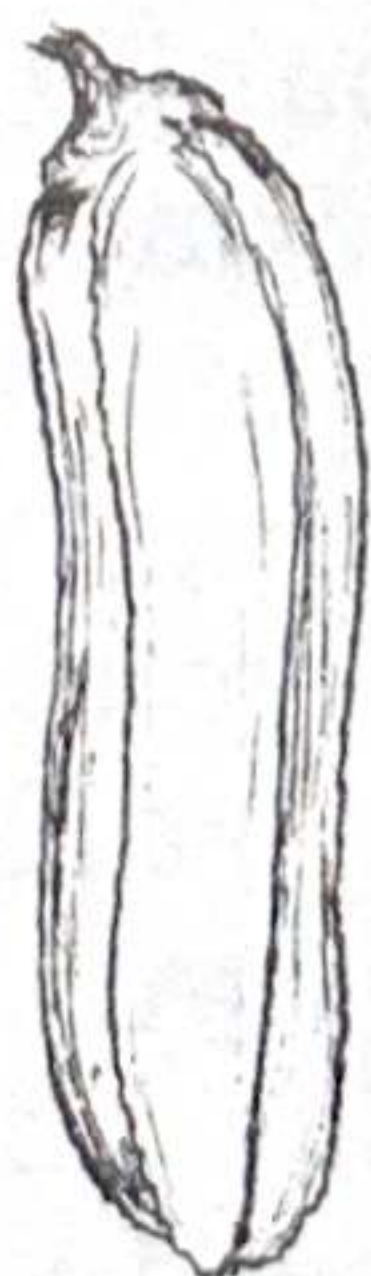
MESCAL
Agave
Palmeri
Flower
stalk at
edible
stage.



Trimmed
head
removed
from root
with chisel
- shaped
3' stick.



BANANA
Yucca
Yucca
baccata



This, then, is a glimpse of the Apache way of life as it was in pre-reservation days, before the flood of incoming Americans upset the applectart.

Most people have been led to believe that the Western Apache and Chiricahua were nomads who made their living by gathering wild plant foods and hunting wild game and by raiding for cattle and horses.

This is primarily true only for the Chiricahua, who did very little farming in pre-reservation days. But among the Western Apache, agriculture was a vital part of their economic system, going back several hundred years or more. Anthropologists have estimated that at least 25% of Western Apache yearly food consisted of domesticated plants. Thirty-five to 40% was wild plant foods, with the remaining third, or so, meat.

The amount of farming varied from group to group. Among the White Mountain, Cibecue, and San Carlos groups, probably the majority of the people farmed or had access to farms or farm products. Among the remaining groups, farming was carried on to a varying extent depending upon local conditions. Every individual did not farm. Usually several members of the same family shared in a field. Other individuals or families were

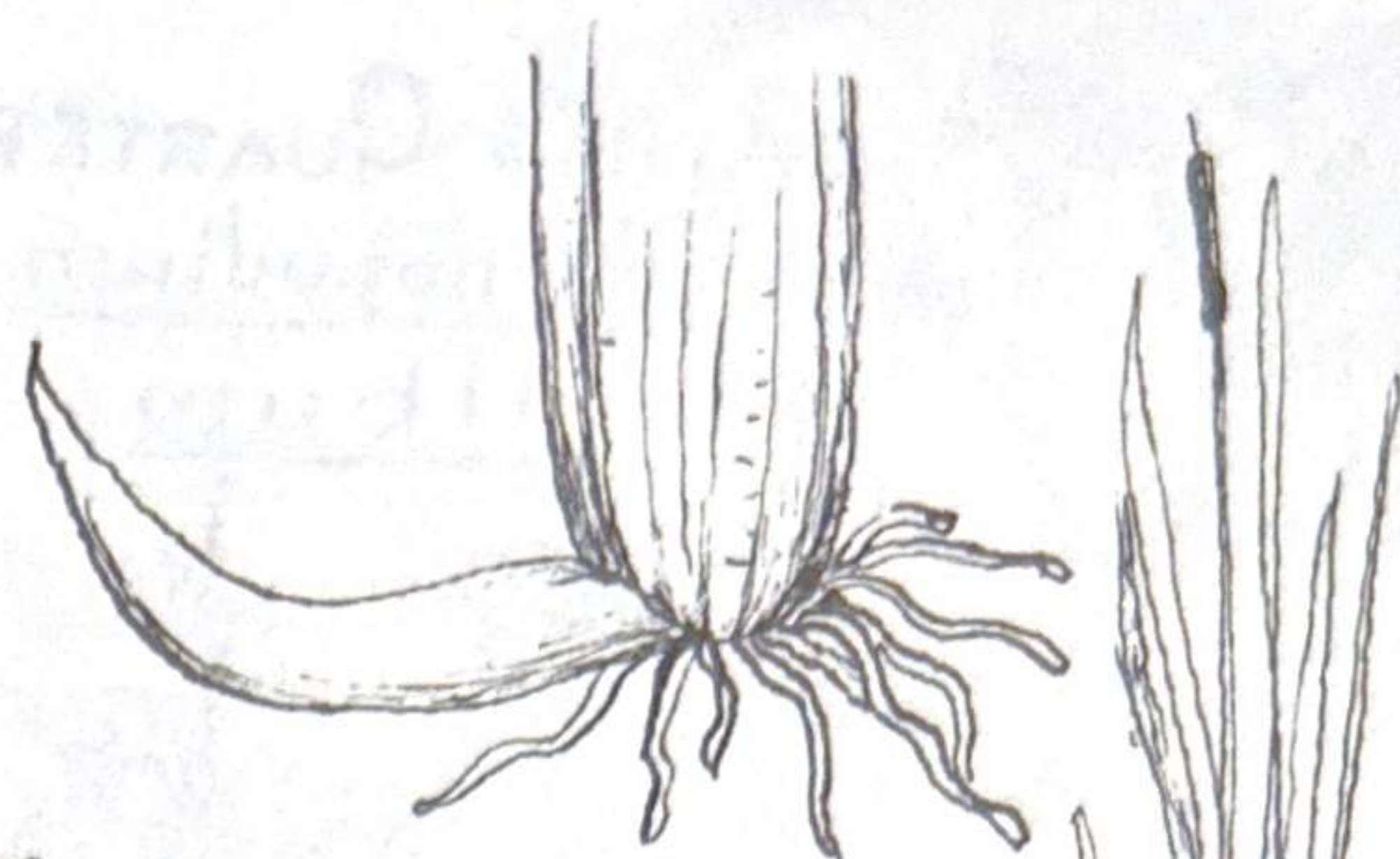
sometimes hired for farm labor, receiving farm produce as pay. Such hiring was usually confined to chiefs or rich men who did not work in their own fields.

(*) Both dry farming and irrigation were practiced. Irrigation was the most common. Fields were usually located along small stream valleys. These streams were dammed and ditches dug to bring water to the downstream fields. There might be from 5 to 15 farms strung out along one ditch. Ditch bosses were important persons in farming. These individuals supervised the repair of dams, the cleaning out of ditches, and the distribution of the water to the farms.

(*) Corn was the main crop. The Western Apache raised six varieties of corn: white, yellow, red, blue, gray-white, and black. Several kinds of beans and one or two species of squash and gourds were also grown, and later some wheat was obtained from Mexico.

After harvest, the greater part of the crops were stored away for future use in huge, elaborate underground caches, or in caches in trees and caves.

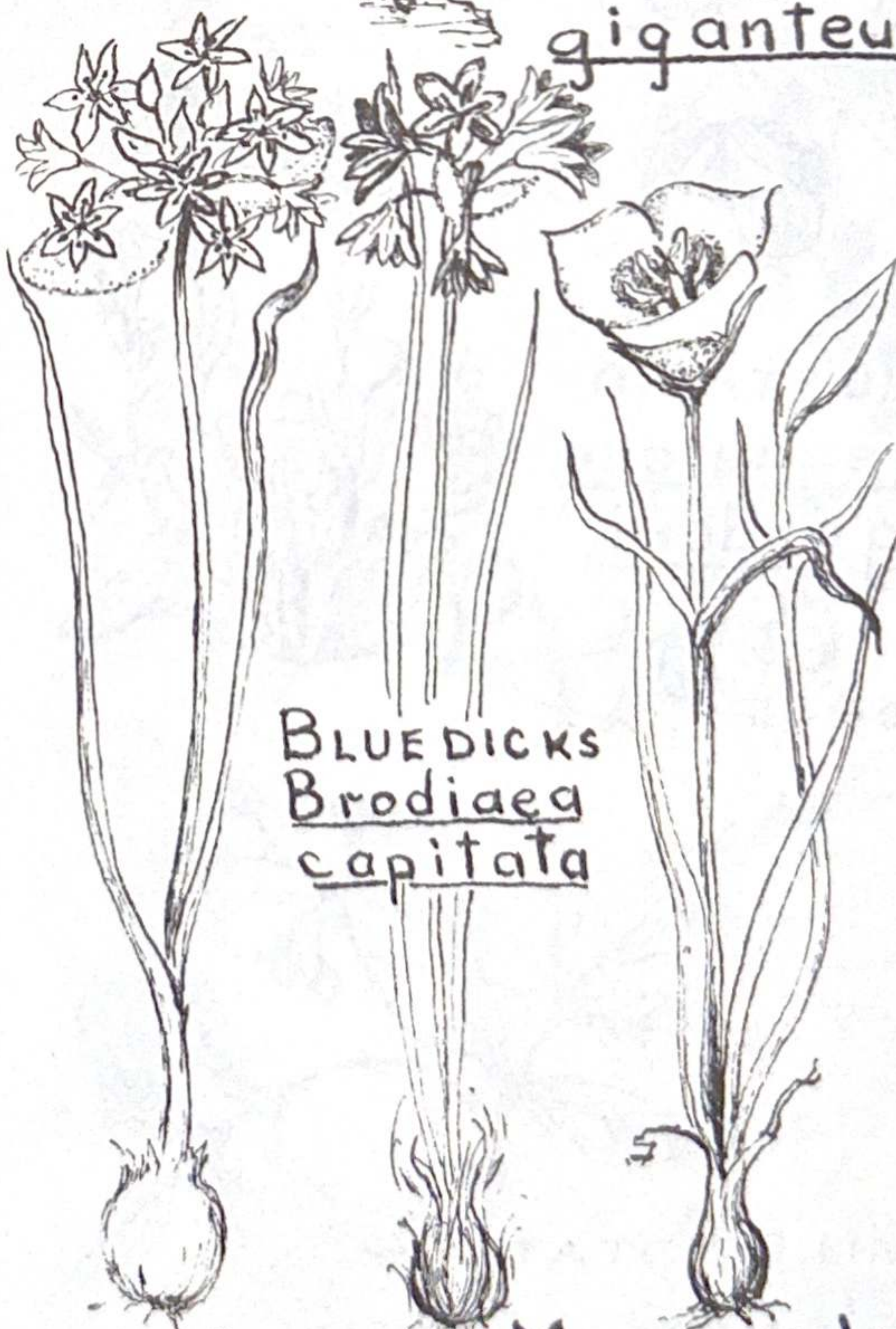
The cultivated fields were never very large. Preparation of the fields and planting were carried out by both men and women. Weeding and irrigation might be done by men but was more often done



TULE
Scirpus lacustris, S. tatora
Edible rootstocks
and lower stems.



SAGUARO
Cereus
giganteus



BLUE DICKS
Brodiaea
capitata

WILD ONION Allium palmeri MARIPOSA LILY Calochortus nuttalli

LAMB'S QUARTERS
Chenopodium
album



by women. Harvesting was principally women's work, though men and young people also took part in it.

The Eastern Chiricahua practiced some farming before the Americans came. Old Chiricahua men have told anthropologists that friendly Mexicans showed them how to raise corn and other plants. Only a few families seem to have planted crops, and agricultural products never formed an important part of their food supply.

The mainstay of the Apache diet was wild plant foods—seeds, nuts, fruits, roots, and berries. Among the agricultural groups wild plants made up well over one-third of the yearly food intake. Among the non-farmers, wild plants formed 50% to 60% of the total food.

The extreme variations in altitude within Apache territory, from low, dry deserts to high, forested mountains, supplied them with a great variety of wild plants, well over 100 different species being used for food.

A partial list might include the following—acorns, pinon nuts, juniper berries, mesquite beans, mescal heads, several kinds of wild onions and wild potatoes, sumac berries, mustard seed, mulberry, wood sorrel, chokecherry, the fruit of nearly every kind of cactus from prickly pear to saguaro,

Pig WEED
Amaranth
hybridus



WOOD SORREL
Oxalis



MUSTARD
Lesquerella
gordonii



WILD POTATO
Solanum jamesii
and fendleri both used.

yucca fruit, wild walnuts, such plants as lamb's quarter for greens, and such grass seeds as tumbleweed, pigweed (amaranth or careless weed), and sunflower.

The first four or five of these, acorns, mescal, pinon nuts, juniper berries, and mesquite beans, were, perhaps, the most important, particularly to the Western Apache. But all these and many more were gathered when available.

The importance of the growing seasons of these wild food plants is seen in the Chiricahua Apache division of the year into six time periods. These were:

Little Eagles -

early spring

Many Leaves -

late spring and early summer

Large Leaves -

midsummer

Large Fruit or

Thick with Fruit -

harvest time of late summer and early fall

Earth is Reddish Brown - late fall

Ghost Face -

winter time

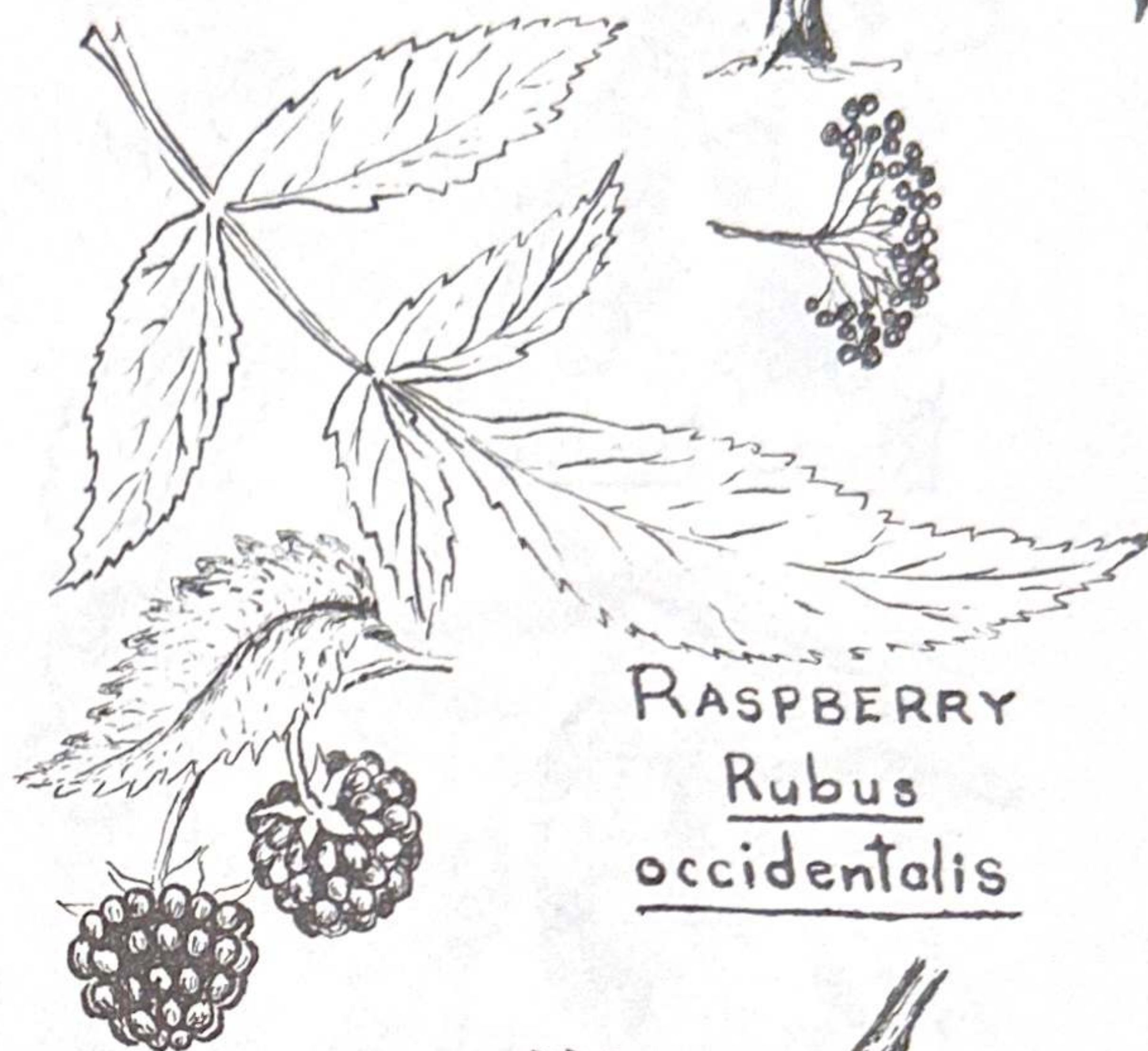
The Chiricahua called the entire year one harvest and reckoned time in so many harvests ago rather than so many years ago. Shorter periods were counted from new moon to new moon, as so many "new moons ago."

The gathering of wild plant foods was women's work, and

ELDERBERRY
Sambucus
canadensis



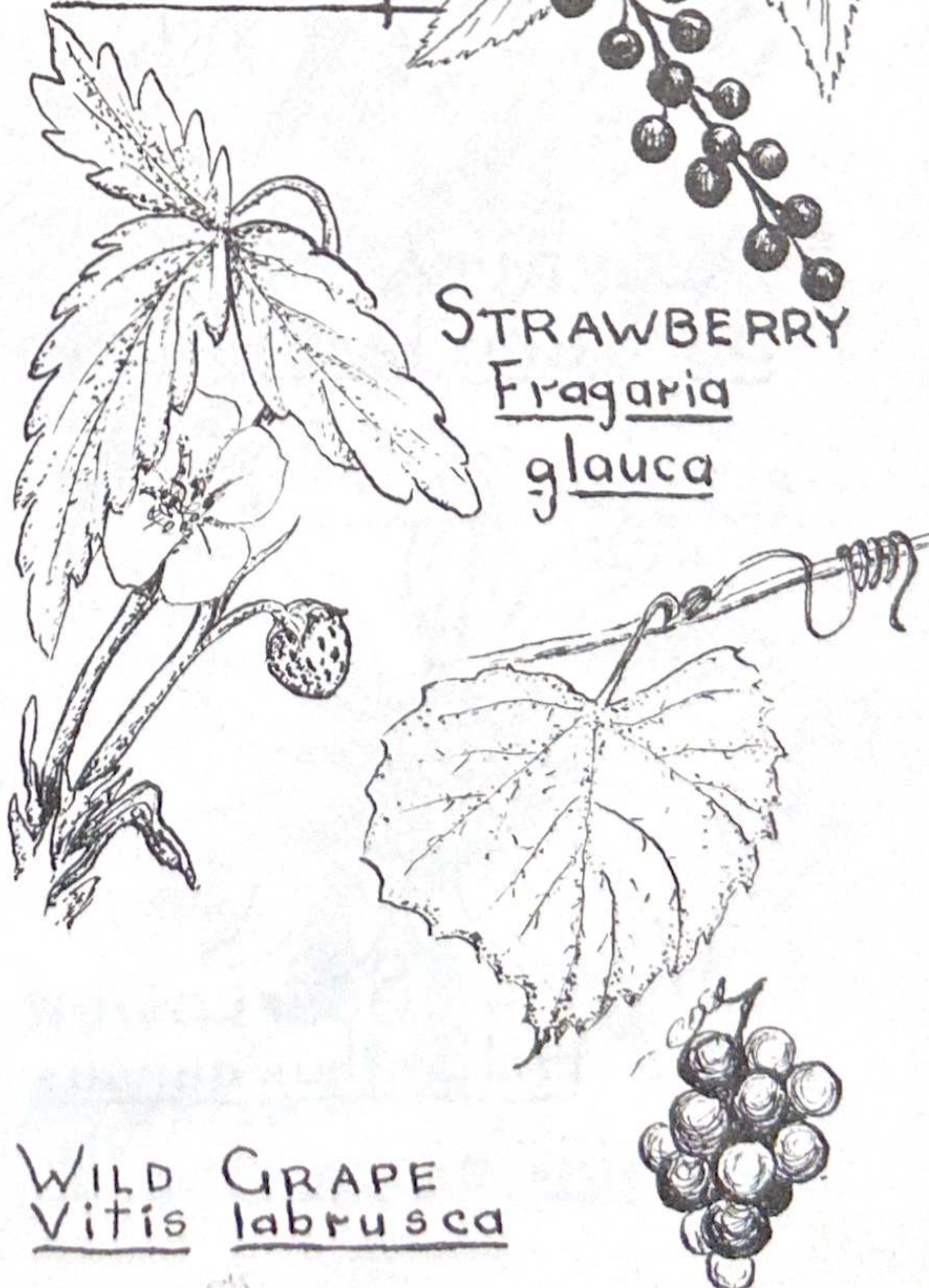
RASPBERRY
Rubus
occidentalis



CHOCHECHERRY
Prunus
melanocarpa



STRAWBERRY
Fragaria
glauca



61 WILD GRAPE
Vitis labrusca



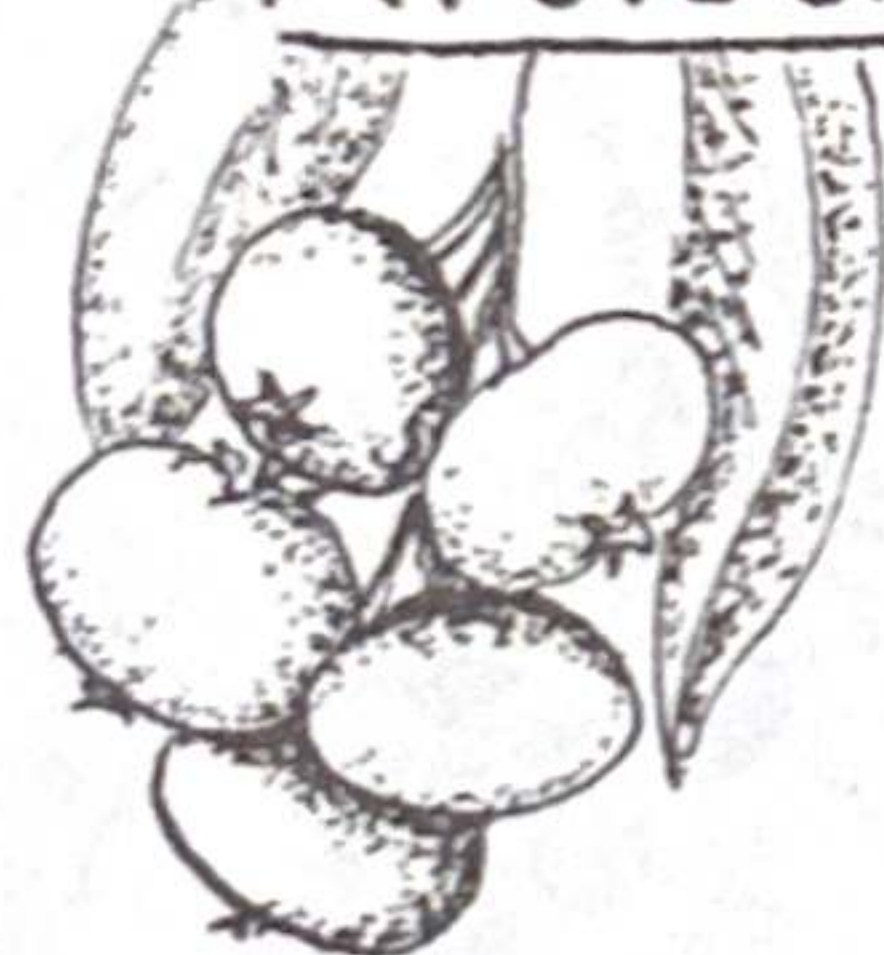
GOLDEN CURRANT
Ribes aureum



SUMAC
Rhus trilobata



MANZANITA
Arctostaphylos pungens



ALGERITA
Berberis haematocarpa



SUNFLOWER
Helianthus annuus

was usually cooperative. If food was to be gathered near home, two or three might go together. For a longer trip, a larger group of women would set out. For a journey of several days, men would go along to protect the women.

Hunting to secure food was man's primary occupation. Though some hunting was an individual affair, most hunting was done in organized groups. The deer was the most important big game animal. Other game hunted included antelope, occasionally elk, less frequently mountain sheep, cottontail rabbits, and wood rats. Animals hunted for their fur were the badger, beaver, and otter. Birds such as the eagle were killed or trapped for their feathers.

The raid was a recognized part of Apache economy. Raiding was a business with the Apaches. They were after loot, not glory. Without it many would have starved. It differed from war in that its sole objective was to gather horses and cattle and any other booty they could lay their hands on. Such raids the Apaches did not consider as stealing. Given the same chance, the Mexicans would do the same to them. The cattle and horses garnered in these raids furnished a considerable portion of Chi-

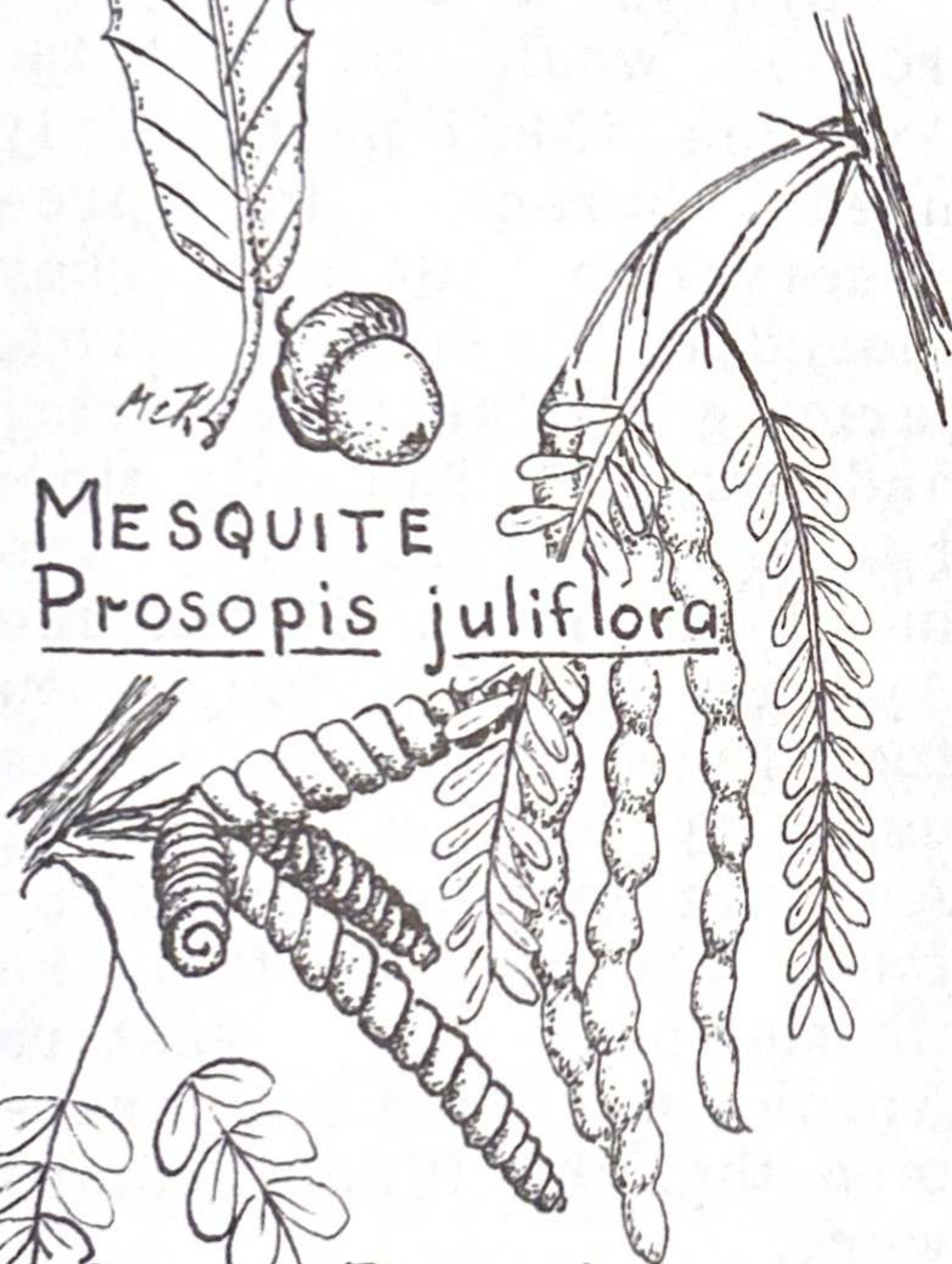
GAMBEL OAK
Quercus gambelii



EMORY OAK
Quercus emoryi



MESQUITE
Prosopis juliflora

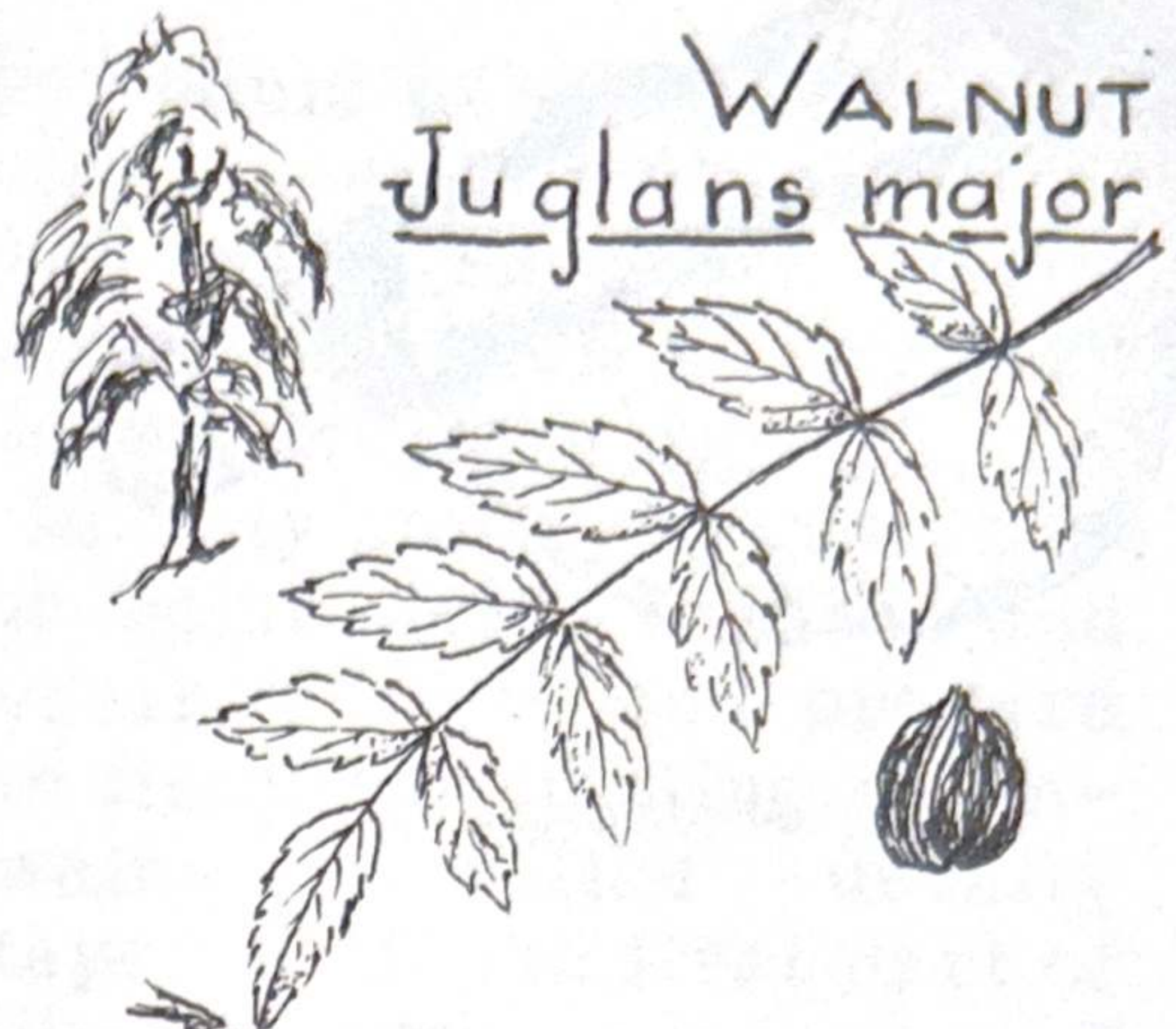


SCREW BEAN MESQUITE
Prosopis odorata



NOPAL
Opuntia engelmannii

WALNUT
Juglans major



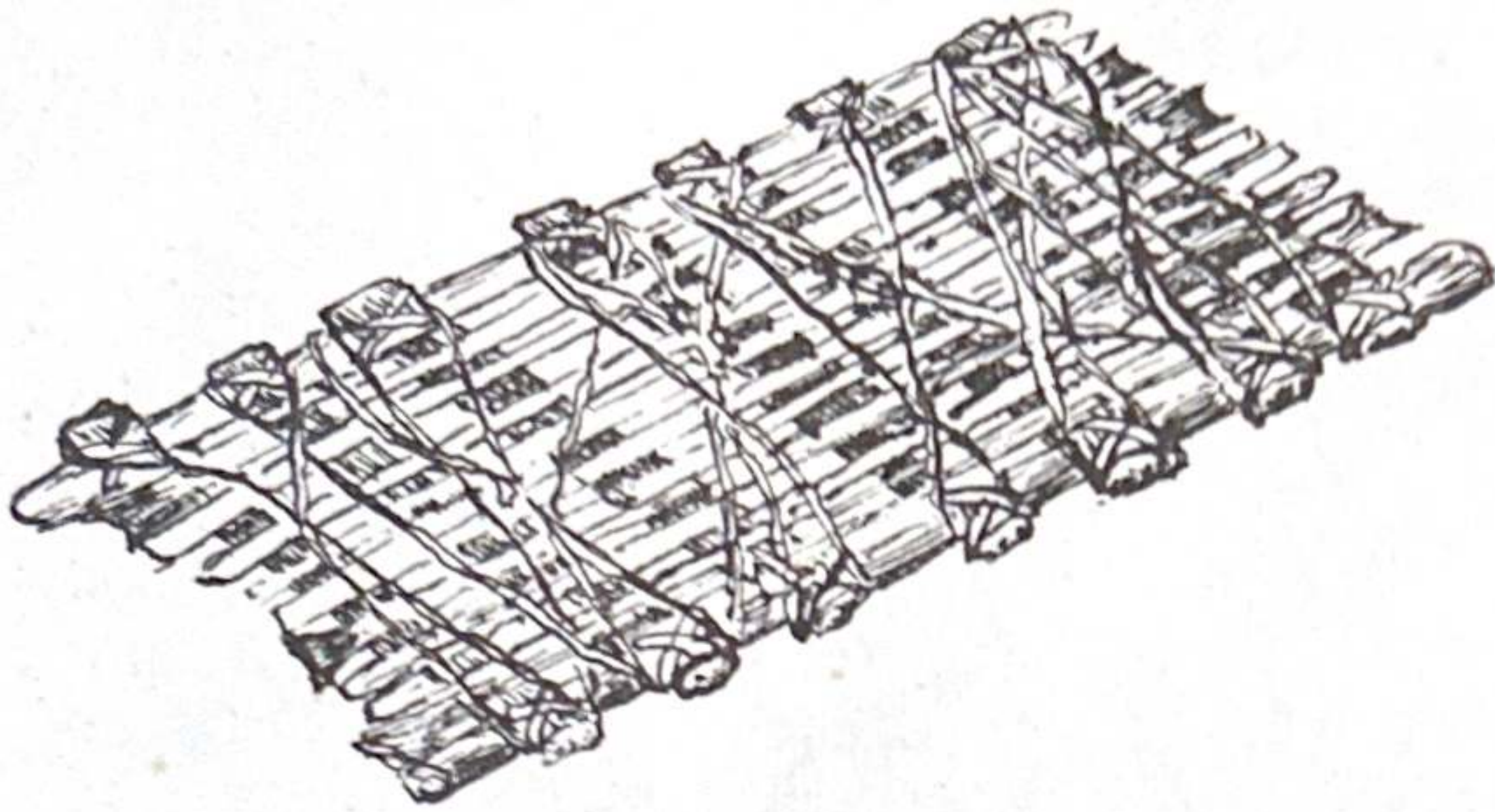
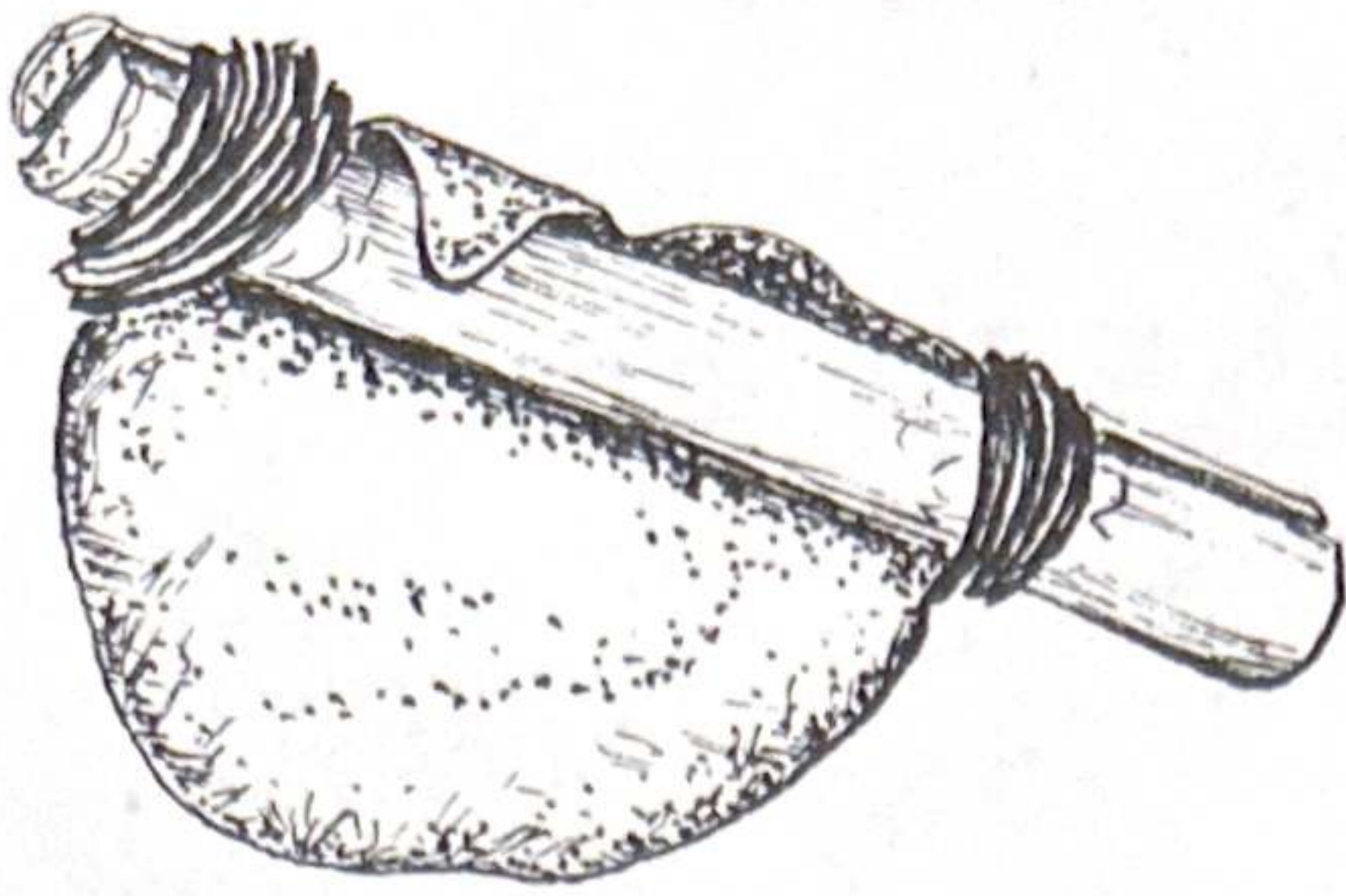
ONE-SEEDED JUNIPER
Juniperus monosperma



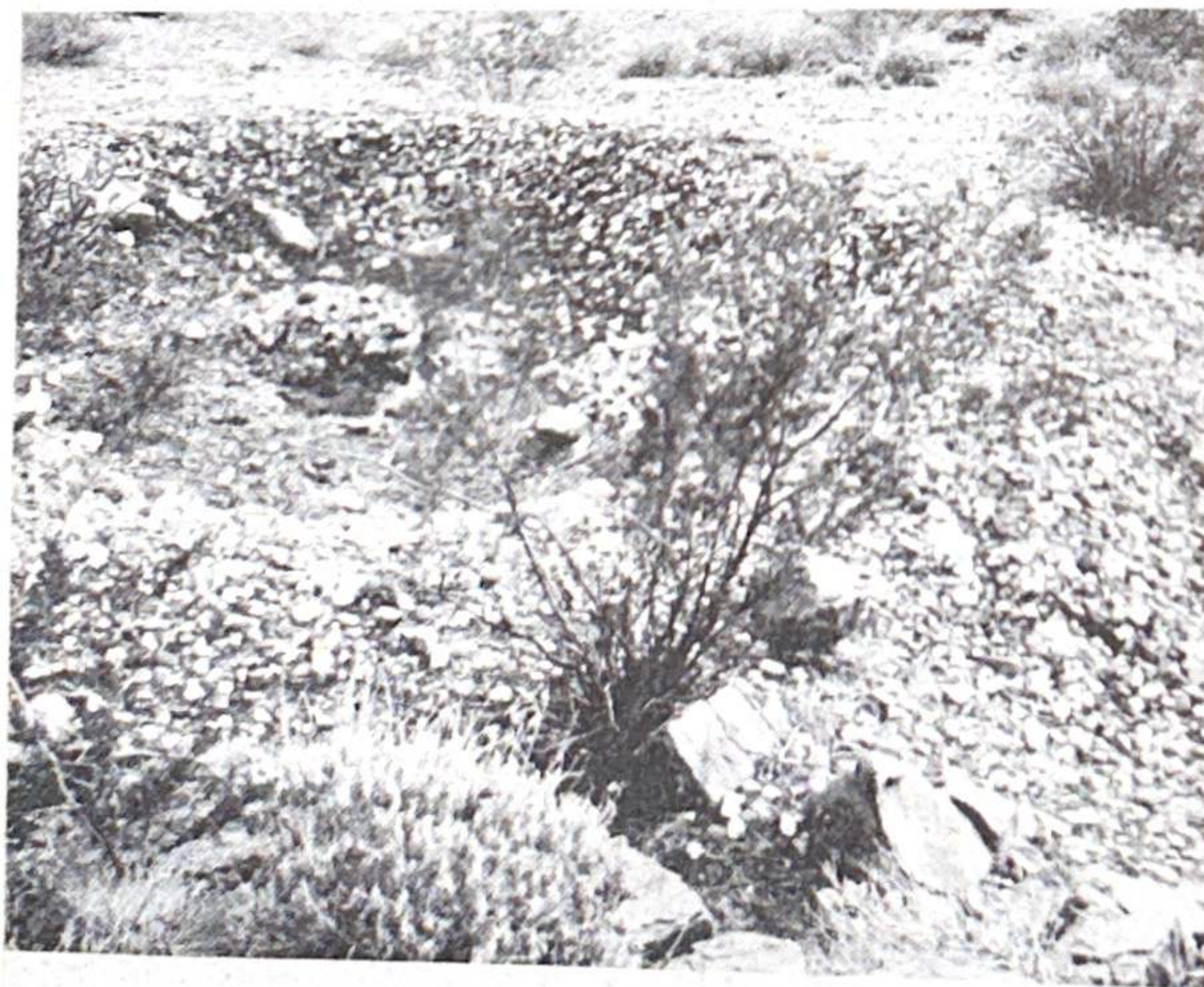
PIÑON
Pinus edulis



JOJOBA
Simmondsia chinensis



Top, mescal knife, metal blade fastened with bailing wire. Middle, White Mountain mescal-drying tray framed with sofal and covered with beargrass. Below, Mescal pit, White Mountain Reservation, Arizona.



Chiricahua Apache meat supply, less among the Western Apache.

Though the Western Apache and Chiricahua raided Mexican settlements for nearly 200 years for horses, cattle, and mules, they did not seriously attempt to raise stock of their own. Perhaps horses and cattle were too easy to acquire by raiding. Why waste time trying to raise them?

Perhaps a more logical reason would be that the Apaches didn't particularly need horses in pre-reservation days. They moved in a restricted area, farming and seed-gathering and hunting. The only time horses came in handy was on a raid. In battle the Apaches mainly fought on foot. Even the Apache scouts used by the United States Army preferred to march on foot. The fact is that the Chiricahua and Western Apache were not the horsemen that the Plains Indians were.

Like their ice-age predecessors of 10,000 B.C., the Apaches preferred to eat horses rather than ride them. Given the choice, they would take horse, mule, and burro meat to that of cattle, sheep, or goats. Often they would ride their horses until the poor animals dropped from exhaustion. Then the Apaches would cook and eat them

and start hunting for more horses.

Raiding, hunting, seed-gathering, even farming, all kept the Apache family almost constantly on the move during most of the year. The first wild-food crop came along in early spring, with the sprouting of yucca and the agave or century plant or, as it is more commonly called, the mescal. Usually this necessitated a long journey to the places where these plants grew most abundantly. Both plants had to be cooked before use.

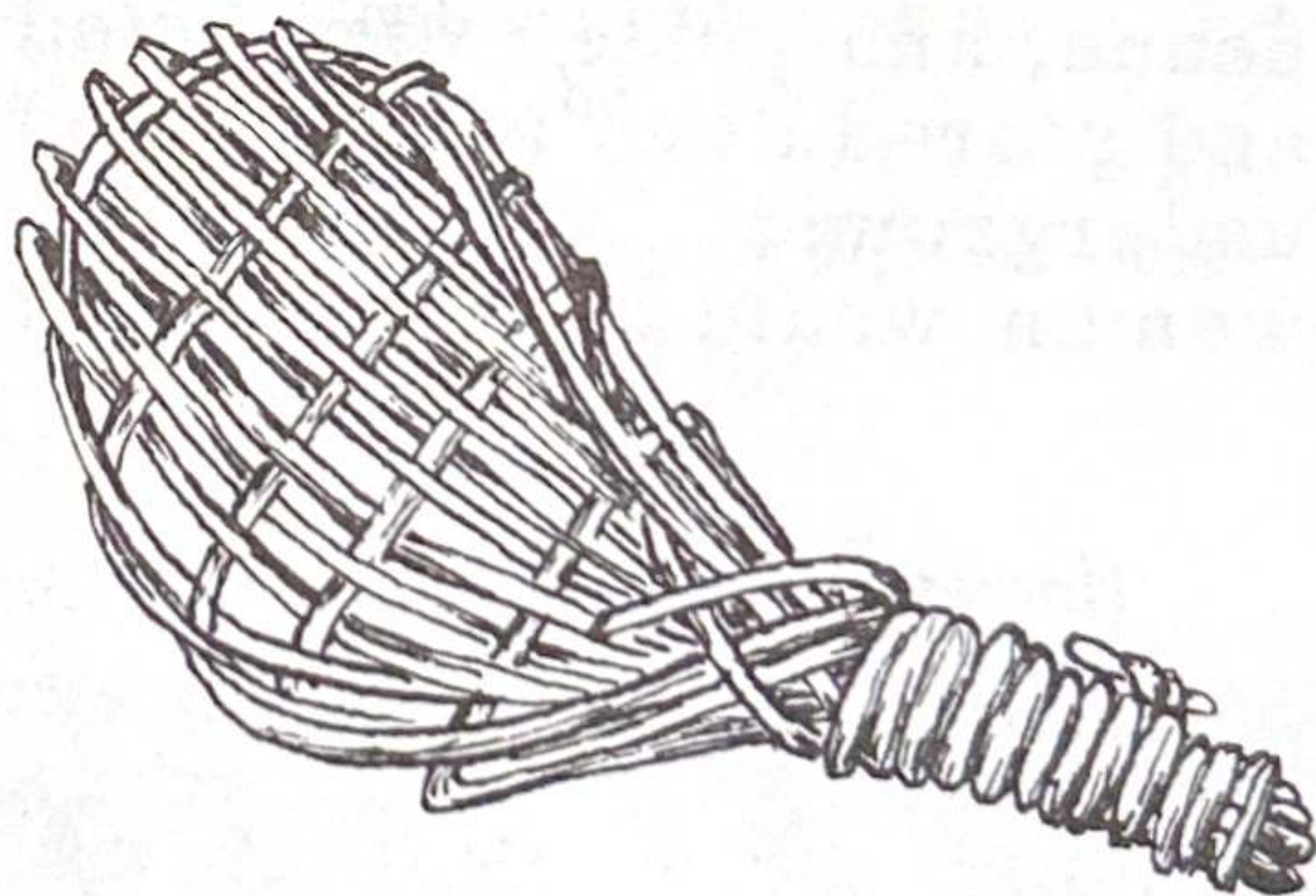
Young shoots or stalks of the mescal could be roasted on an open fire and peeled and eaten like sugar cane, but generally the Apaches cut the entire head out of the center of the plant by means of a sharp stone or iron blade set in a wooden handle or by an equally sharp chisel-shaped sticks. Then they dug huge pits 10 to 15 or more feet across and from 3 to 5 feet deep. They packed in wood, covered it with rock, and set it afire. When the fire burned down, the mescal heads were piled on top of the hot rocks and covered over with wet grass, brush, and dirt. In this steamy fireless cooker the mescal was left for a day or two until it was thoroughly baked.

The mescal heads then had to be cut up and dried before

they could be stored away for future use. Sometimes several trips had to be made before families had enough stored away for winter.

In May came the return to the home fields to clean and repair ditches and prepare the fields for planting. Farm-owning families usually stayed until the first part of July when the corn was up 6 or 8 inches. Then most of the families left, leaving a few old people to take care of the growing crops.

Some people moved to the low country to gather the ripening saguaro fruit. By the latter part of July most of them were gathering the first of the seed-bearing plants, greens, sumac berries, and such wild fruits as



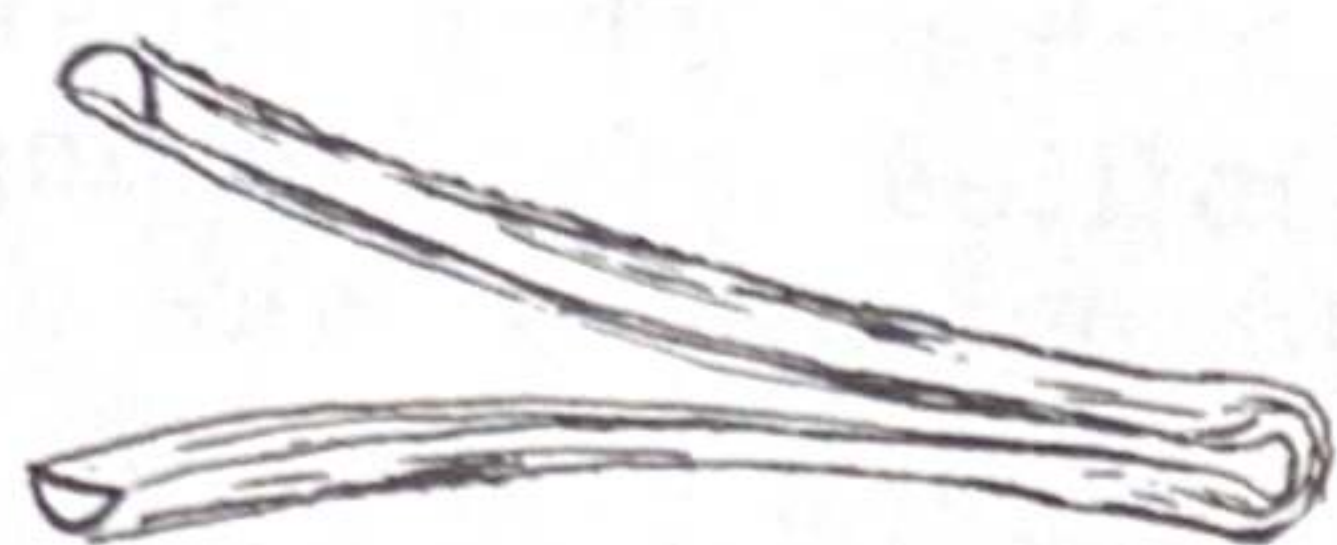
White Mountain seed beater of cottonwood shoots bound with yucca.

raspberries, strawberries, grapes, and currants.

About the same time came one of the most important of their wild-foods harvests, the acorns of both the Gambel oak and Emory's oak. Nearly

every family took part in expeditions to gather and sack these nuts. The harvest lasted for a month or more. In late August and September mesquite beans were ripe in the lower country. People also took time to pick the fruits of the yucca and several varieties of cactus.

In September, crops were beginning to ripen and fam-



White Mountain cactus fruit picker of mesquite wood.

ilies began drifting back to their farms. There they remained until about the end of October, harvesting their crops. Most of the corn, beans, and squash were dried and stored away in a common underground cache. The women would dig a large pit

and line the bottom and sides with smooth flat stones. The baskets and skin sacks of food were placed on a layer of brush and covered with another layer of brush. The top of the pit was then covered with another layer of brush. The top of the pit was then covered with rocks and tightly plastered with mud so that the location of the cache was safely hidden from outsiders.

Many of the wild plant foods collected during the summer were also dried and stored away in similar caches for use during the lean winter months.

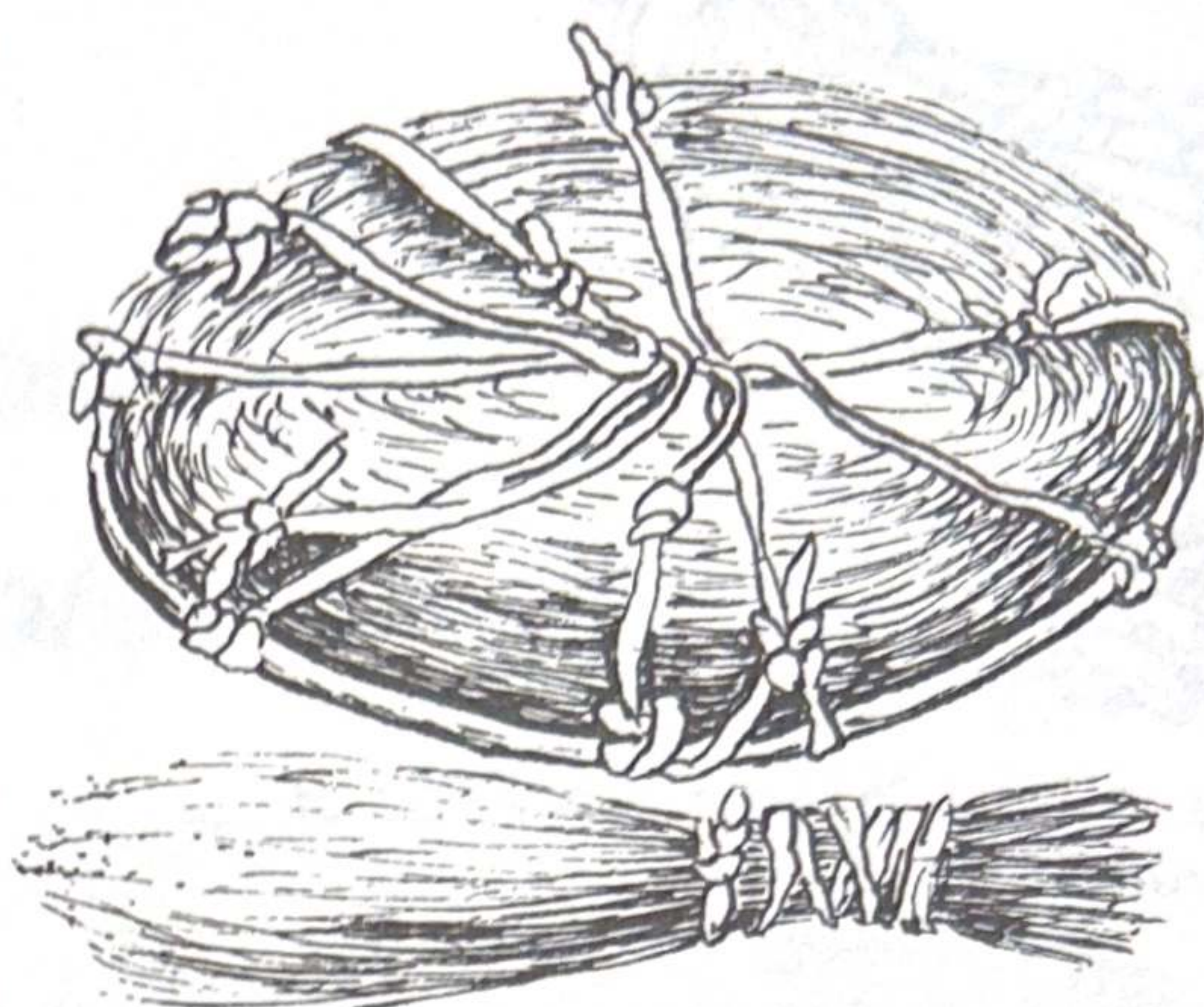
By the time the harvest was completed and stored, pinon nuts and alligator juniper berries, both important foods, were ripening and had to be gathered. Late fall was also a favorite time for deer hunting.

Harvesting prickly pear fruit (tunas). Western Ways Photo by Herbert.

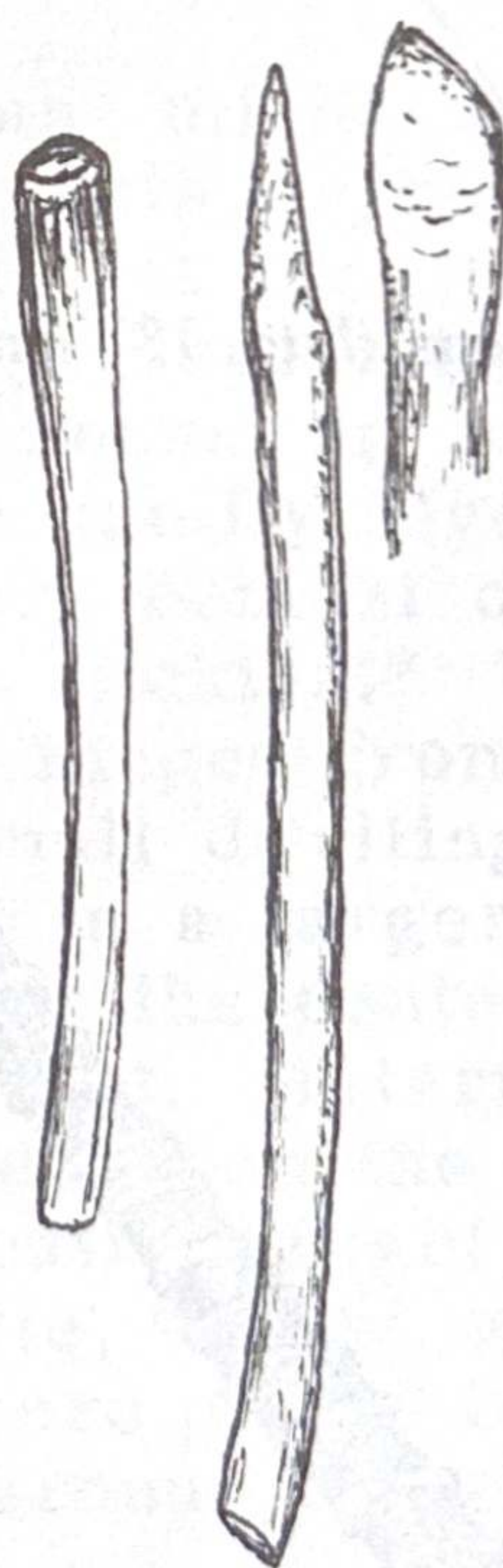


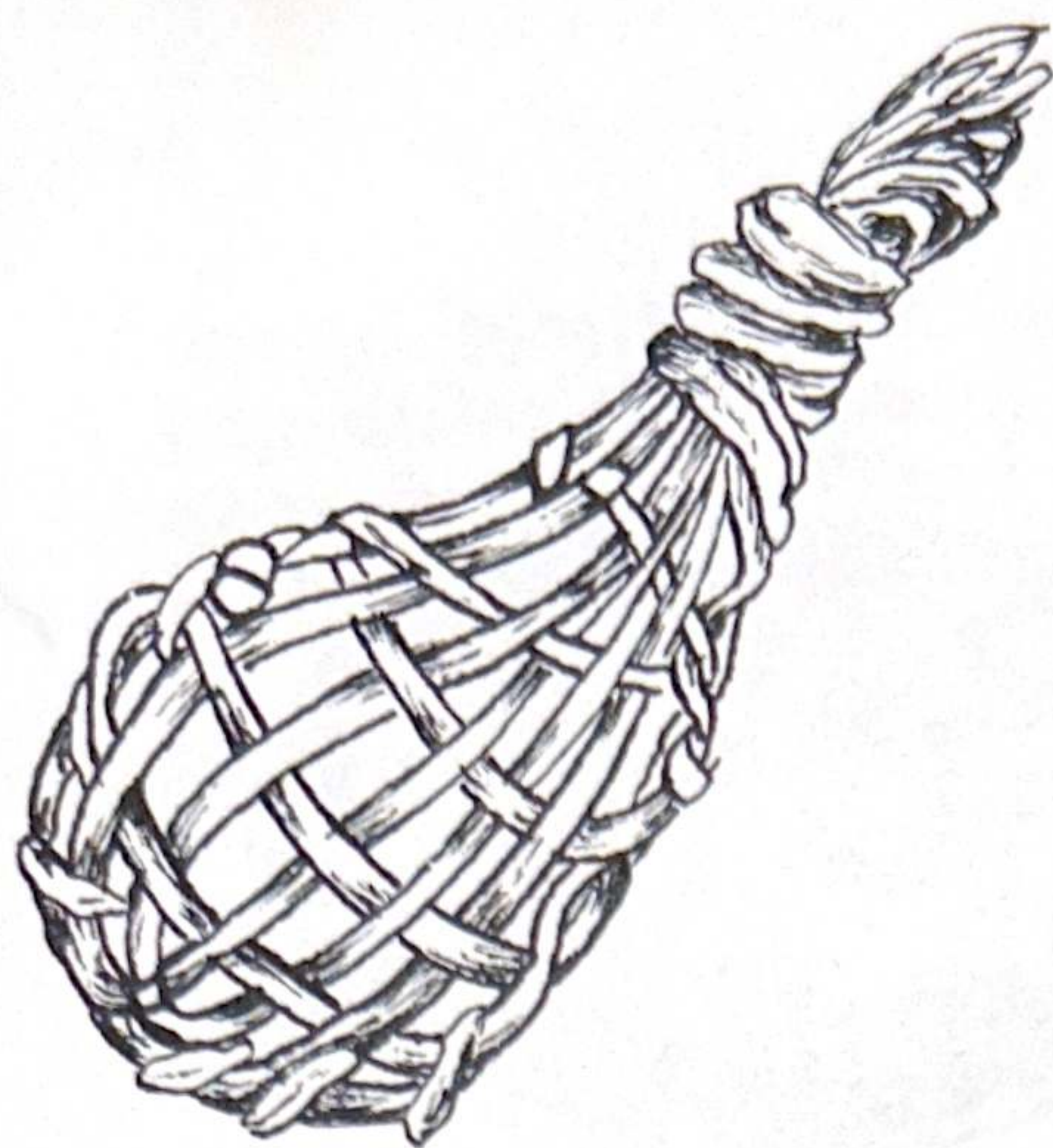
Thus from early spring until November the Apache family was busy farming, gathering wild-plant foods, and hunting. During this period they ranged over a wide territory, following the seeds and fruits ripening at different elevations in different areas. While women were engaged in harvesting wild foods, men spent most of their time in hunting.

From the last of November until April, hunting was almost the only economic pursuit. Winter was a favorite time for visiting relatives in other localities. Extended families frequently traveled to one of three or four main camping areas in the lower country to escape the winter weather in the mountains. From these camps raiding or war parties would penetrate into Mexico. Women would catch up on their mending and other long-neglected household chores, and men would repair their old weapons and make new ones. It was a time for visiting and story telling and relaxing after the strenuous round of activities of the spring, summer, and fall.

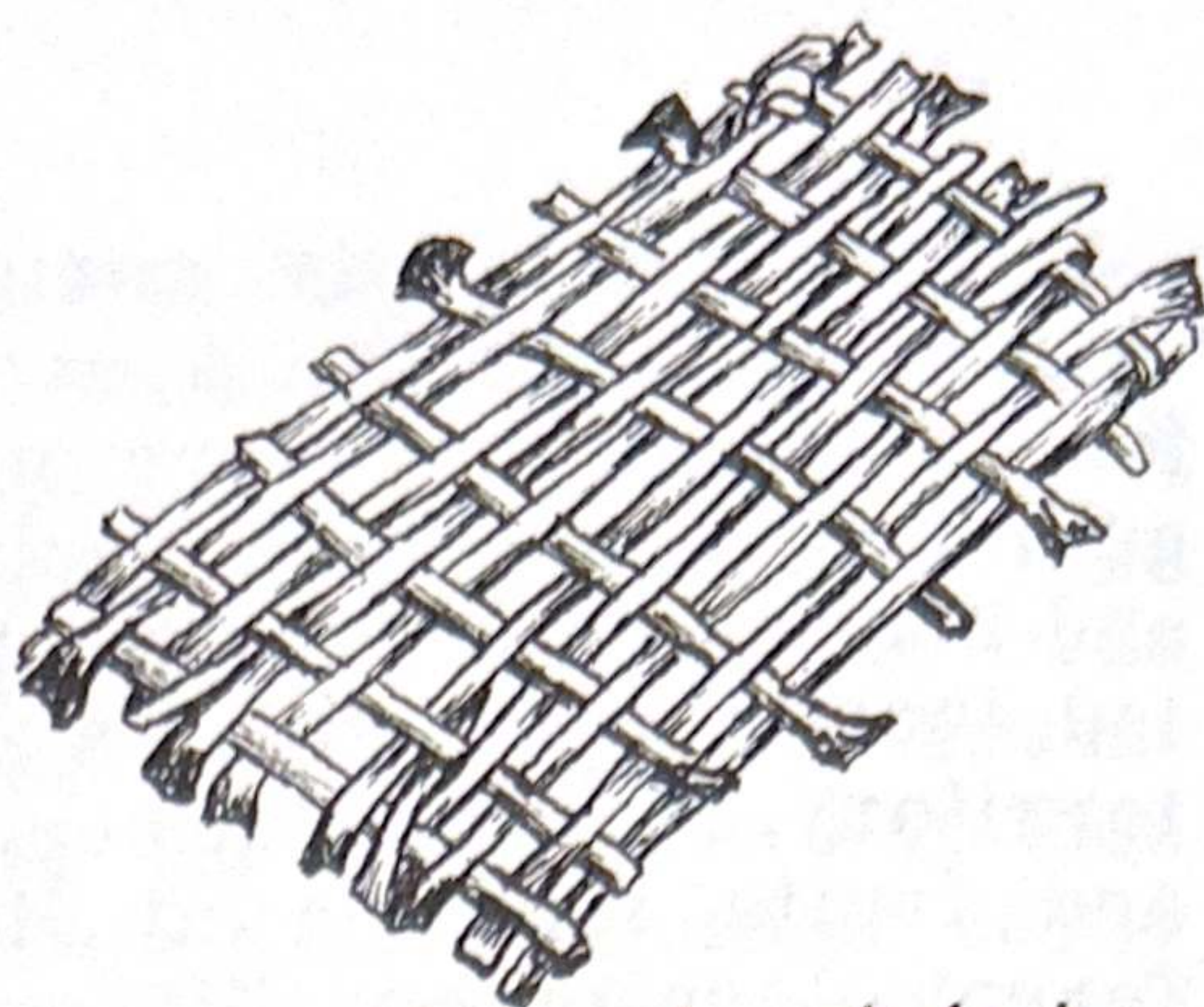


Above, fruit tray consisting of a wooden hoop covered with grass secured by yucca ties. Grass brush fastened with yucca. Below, White Mountain digging stick of catsclaw (two views) and sunflower seed beater of sotol.

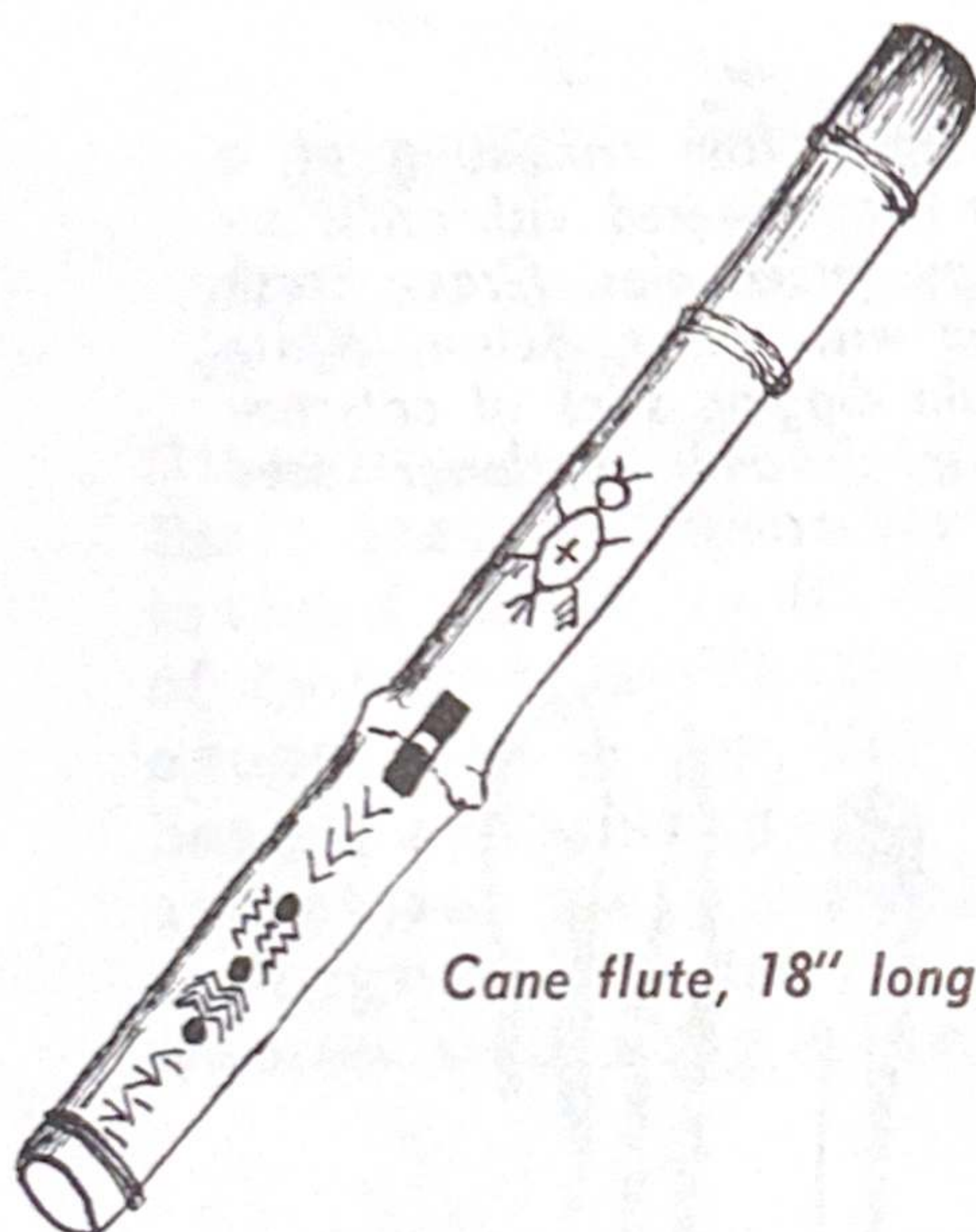




White Mountain food strainer of beargrass.



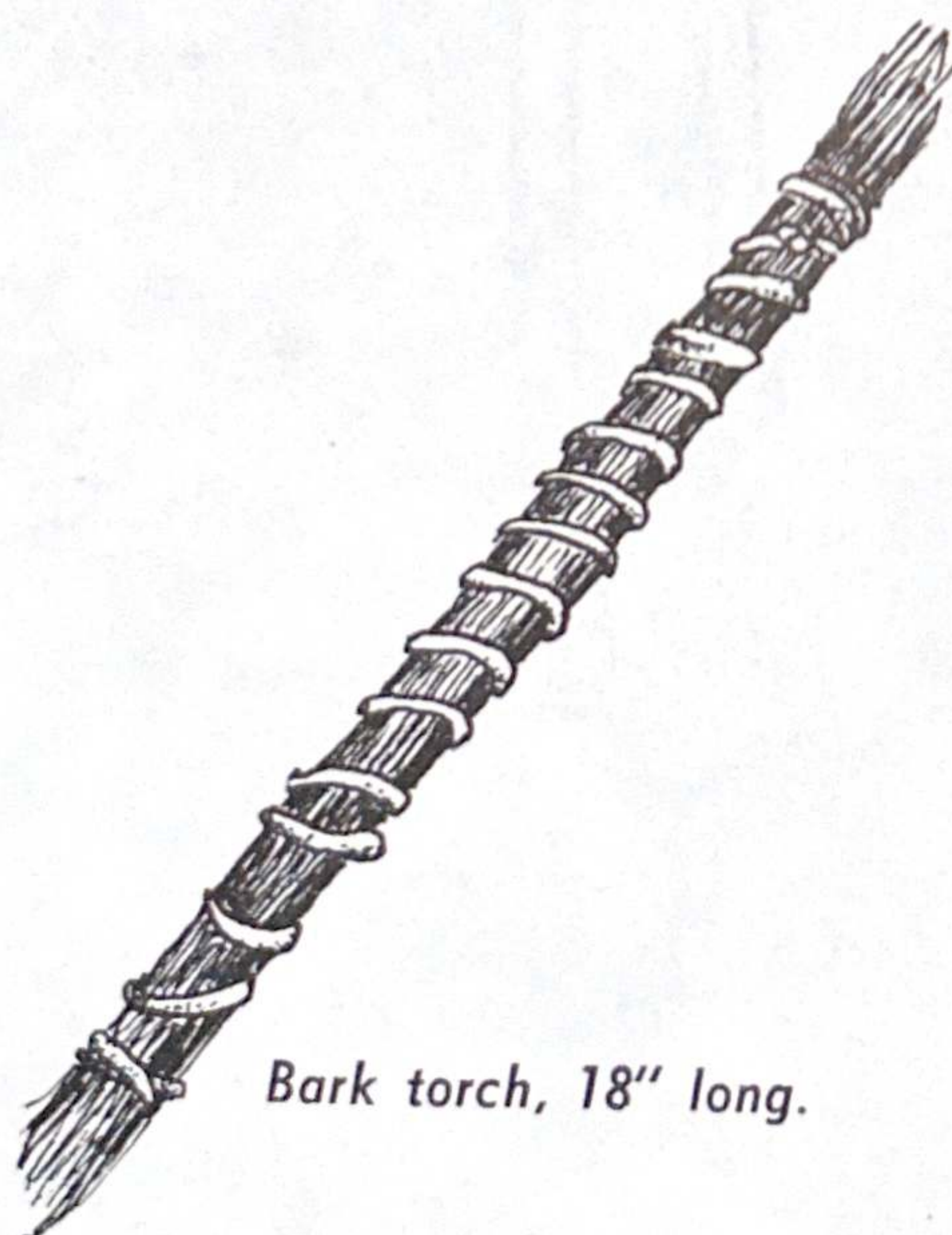
White Mountain tray for soft foods made of plaited beargrass.



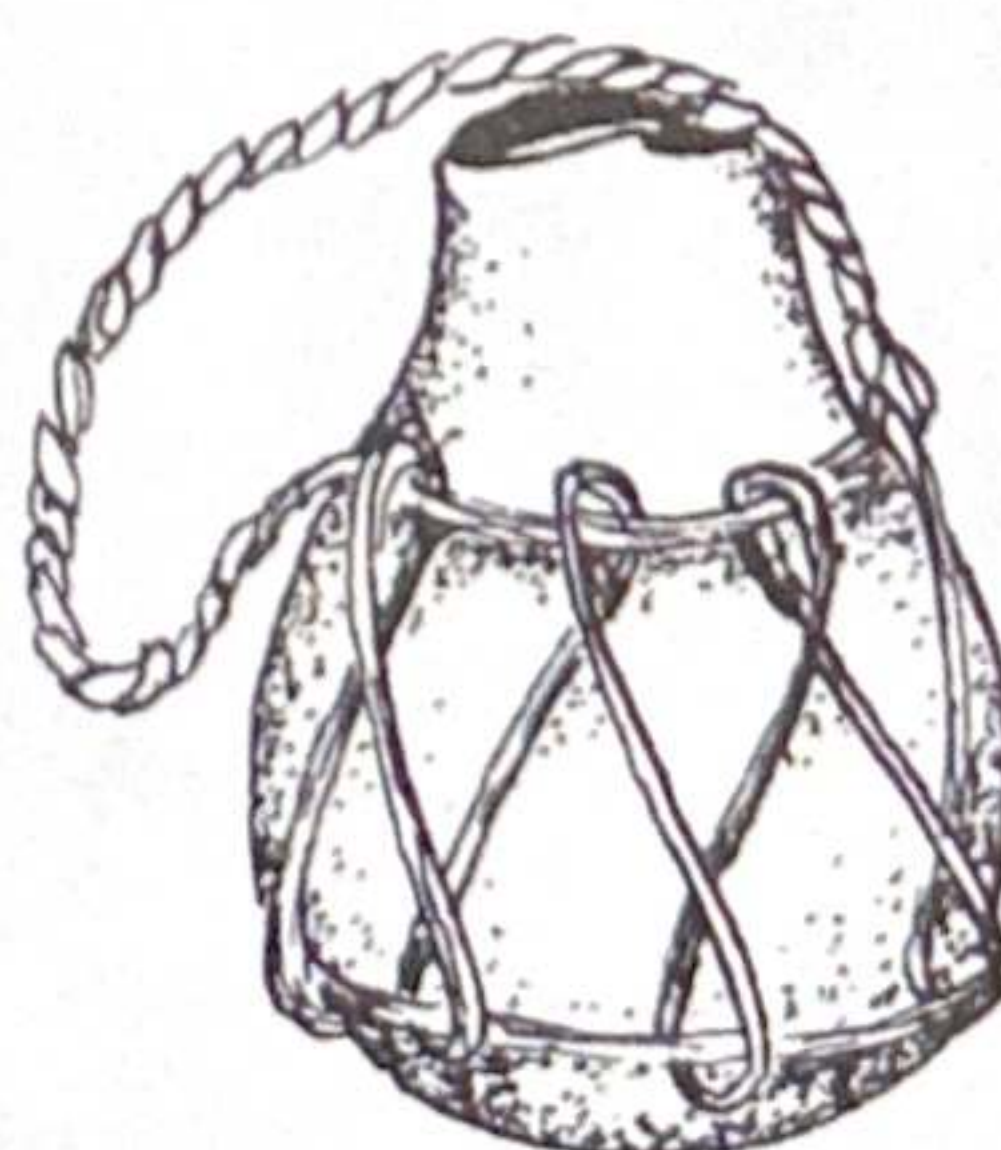
Cane flute, 18" long.



Apache "violin," 10" long; bow, 1'3" long.

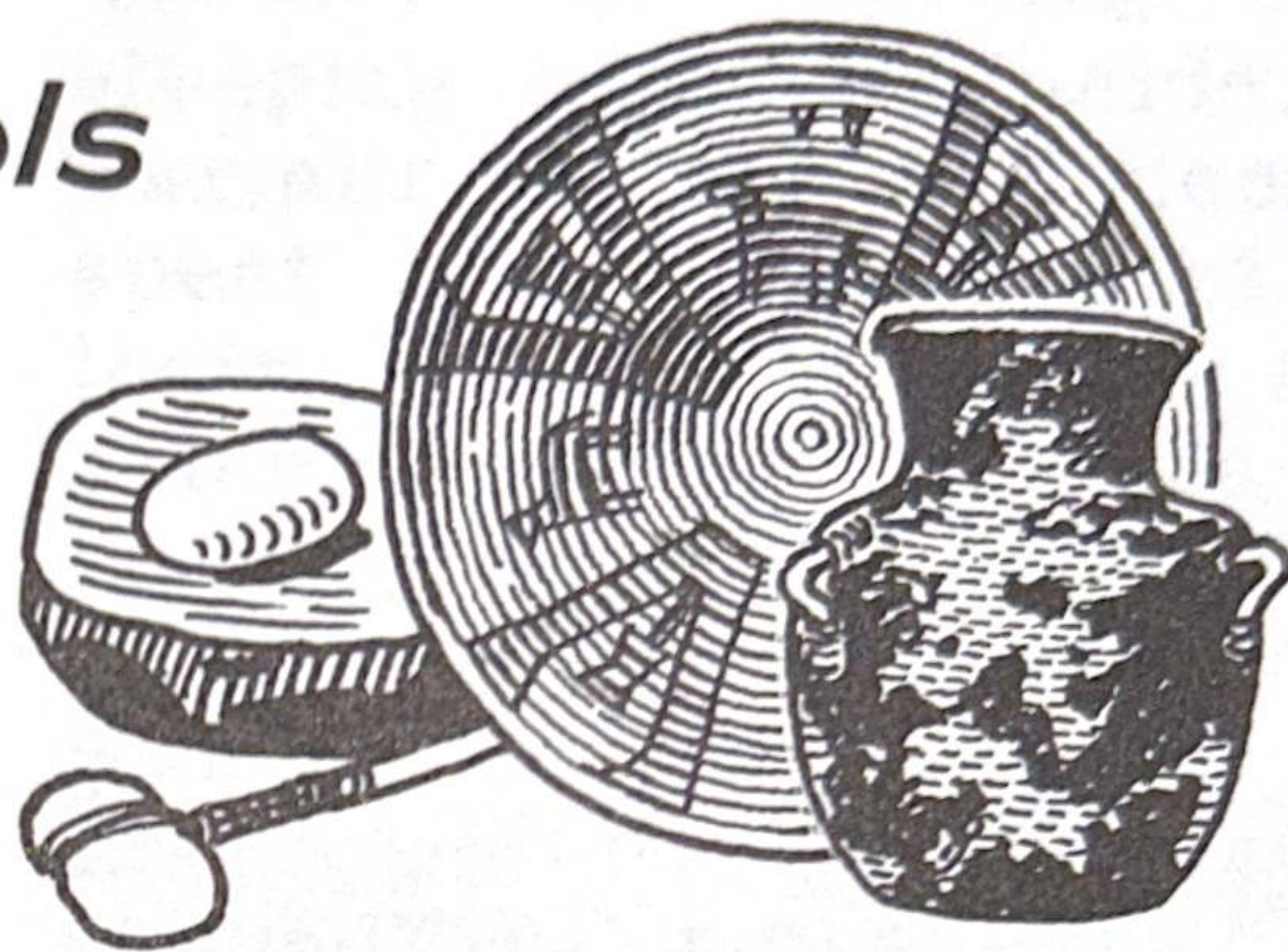


Bark torch, 18" long.



Jicarilla gourd container in a cloth carrying net.

Shelter, Clothing, and Tools



Chapter 6

AMONG THE Apache the division of labor was fairly simple. The man hunted, raided, fought in feuds and war, made his own weapons, took care of such stock he might have, and helped with all the heavy work. The woman had charge of preparing food, caring for children, making the household implements and utensils, gathering wild plant foods, and most of the agricultural work.

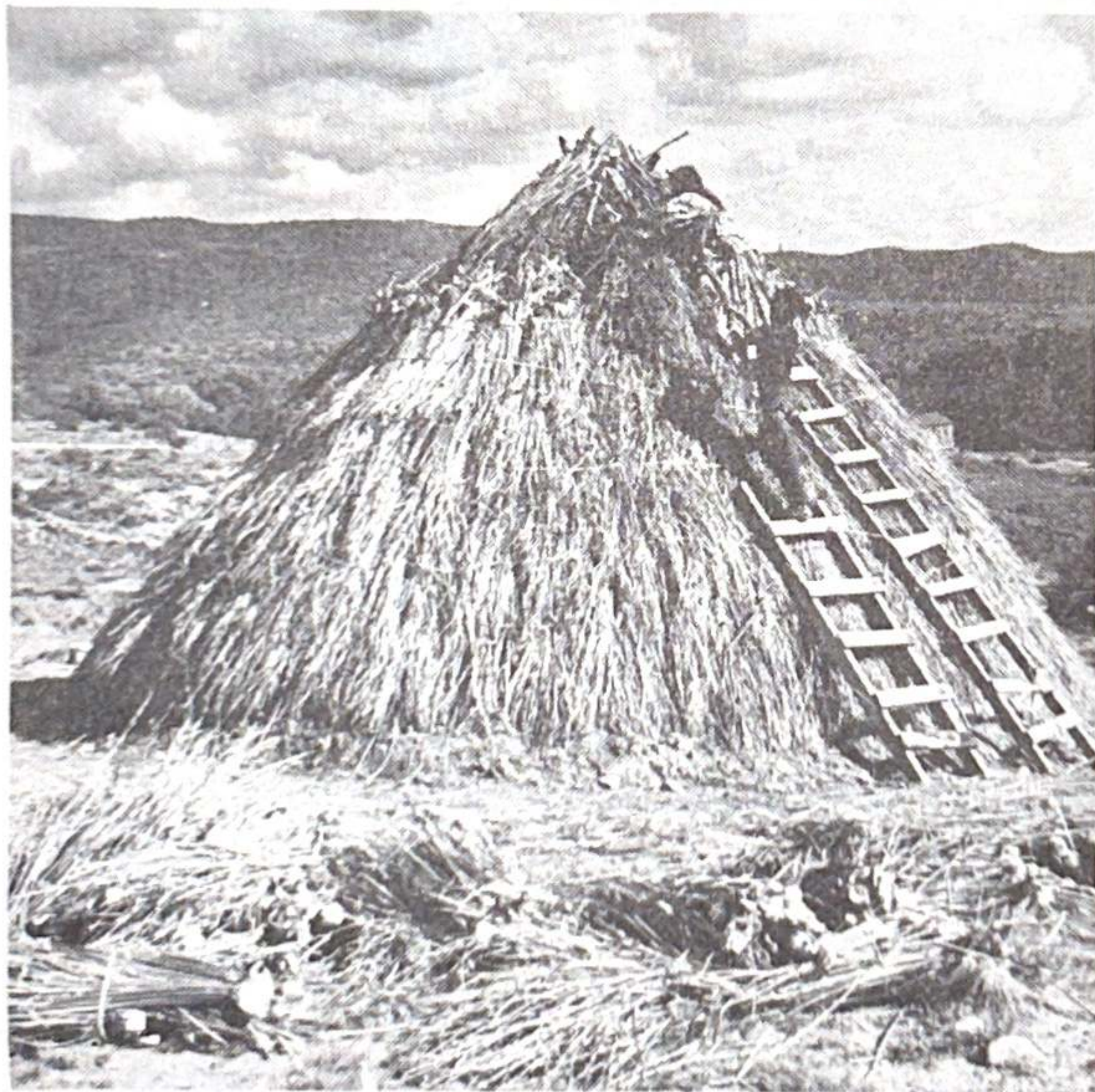
One of the chief tasks of women was the construction of the family house. Though

the man might erect any heavy posts or beams in a dwelling, it was the wife's primary responsibility.

The house in which the Apache family lived was a circular, conical or dome-shaped wickiup.* The diameter ranged from 10 feet in a small dwelling to 15 to 18 feet in a larger one, the height at the center from 7 to 15 feet. Materials used depended upon the tribe and the locality. Light poles of mesquite, willow, or cottonwood were placed in shallow holes around the perimeter

*Ed. note: Apaches have never used this word, which apparently is of Sac-Fox origin, and was applied by white frontiersmen to dome-shaped brush lodges all across the West.

Wickiup framework. Woman is making brown dye from walnuts. Western Ways photo by Herbert.



Thatching a wickiup. Bundles of the beargrass covering are shown in the foreground. Western Ways photo by Herbert.

A completed wickiup. Note addition of wooden doorway at right. Western photo by Herbert.

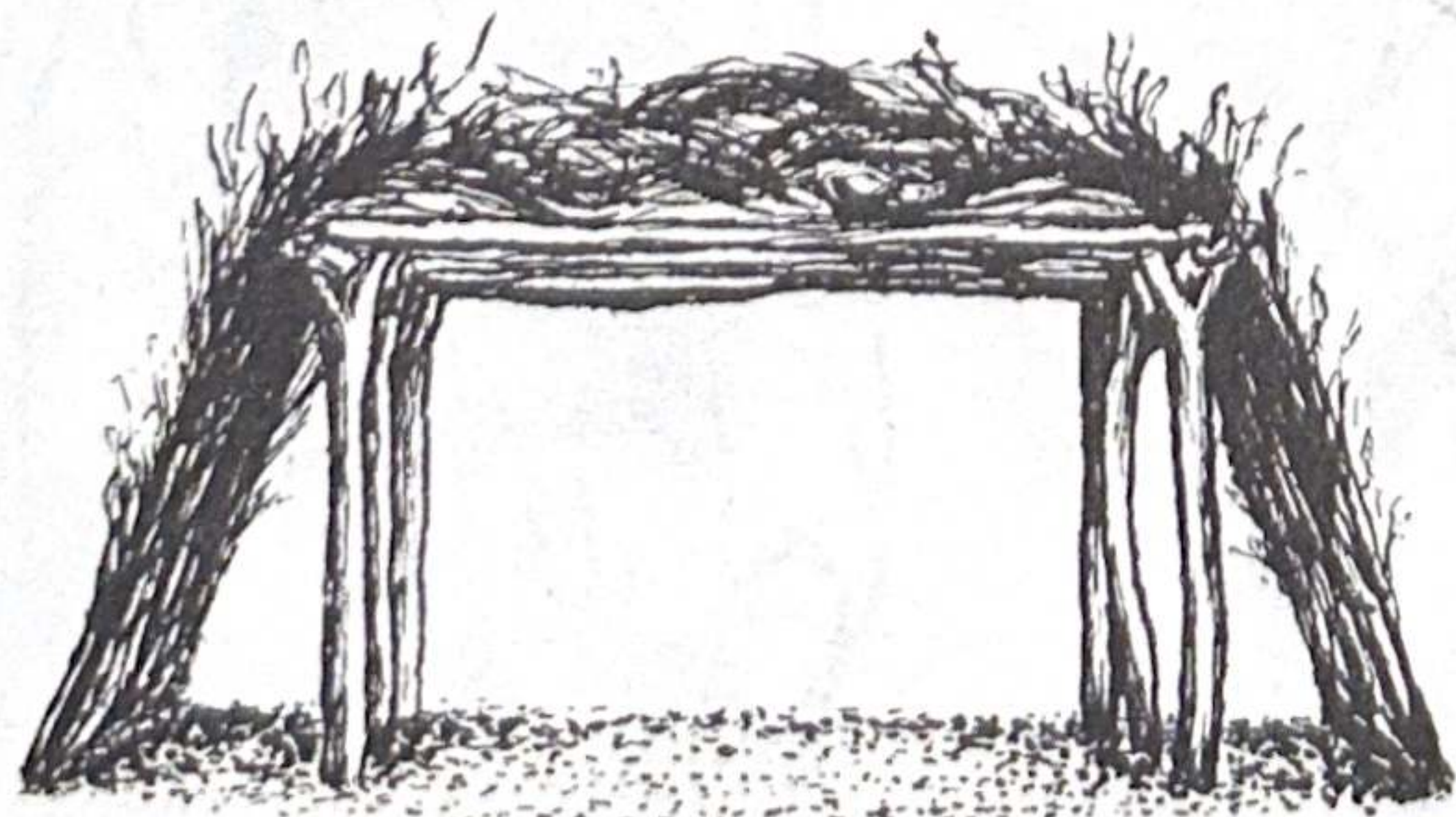


and bound together at the top with yucca fiber.

Over this pole and brush framework was placed a thatching of bundles of bear-grass, like overlapping shingles, tied on with yucca cord. A low entrance hole was left, facing to the east in many bands. This doorway was covered with a hide suspended to swing in or out. In wintertime or in rainy weather the wickiup formerly was covered with skins. Later, when cloth and canvas became available through trade with whites, these were used as covering. Also, more recently, short wooden vestibules with wooden doors have been added to many wickiups, particularly in the San Carlos area.

Tightly covered with skins, these wickiups were warm and comfortable in cold weather. In summer the skins could be rolled up around the bottom or entirely removed to catch the cool breeze.

The floor of the wickiup

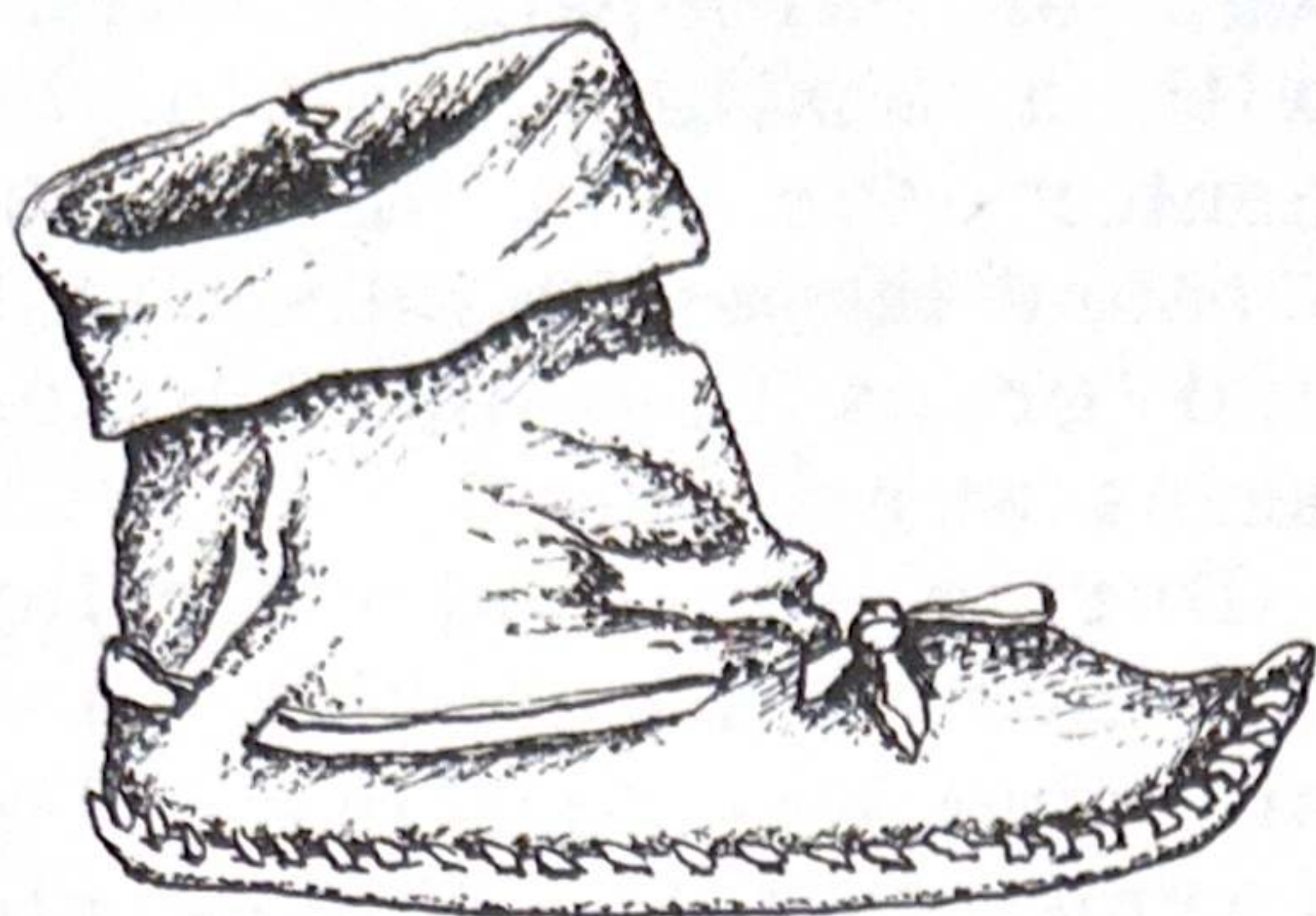


Brush ramada for warm weather living.

was of hard-packed earth, with a shallow hole in the center for the fireplace. Around the walls were brush and grass beds over which skins were spread.

During the cold or rainy weather all cooking and sleeping was done inside. In warmer weather the people spent the greater part of their time, both awake and asleep, under a ramada or open-air shelter close by the wickiup. These ramadas were constructed of 4 to 6 large upright posts set in the ground and connected at the top by cross poles and covered over with a thatch of willow or beargrass. Cibecue and White Mountain used Gambel oak for the upright posts while San Carlos and Southern and Northern Tonto used mesquite or cottonwood posts.

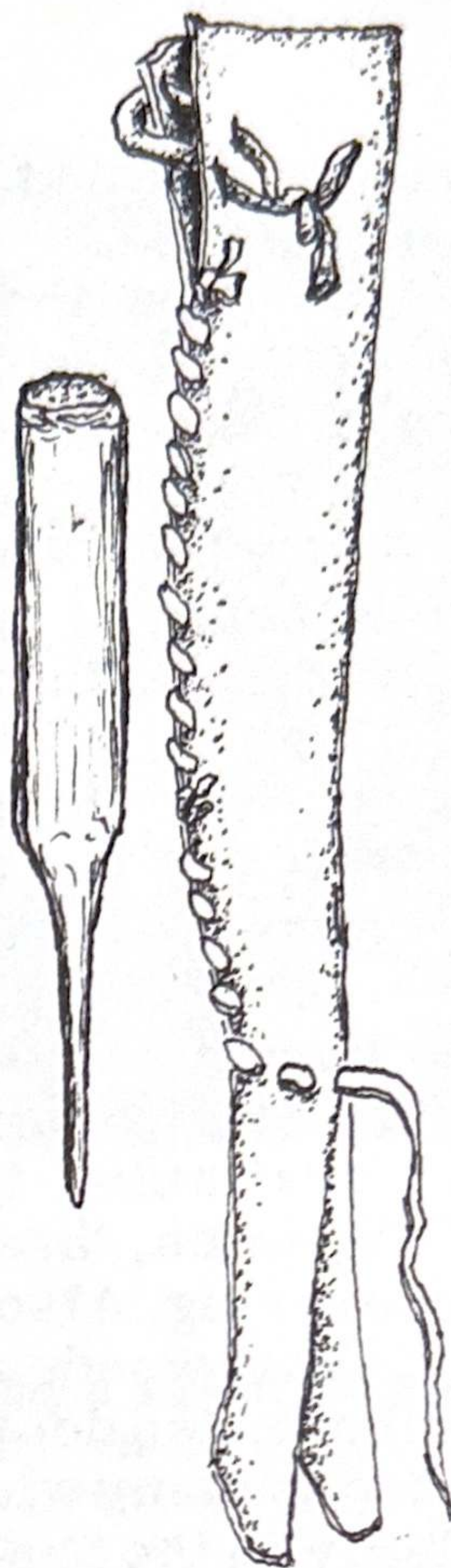
Apache clothing was formerly made almost entirely of skin, usually deerskin. The men wore long-sleeved buckskin shirts and broad skin loincloths or breechcloths. Perhaps the most important part of their apparel were their thigh-high moccasins made of soft buckskin with rawhide soles. The hard sole frequently projected beyond the big toe an inch or two and turned upward. Commonly the upper leggings were turned down in folds to the knee or below, the folds forming handy pockets in which to carry



Low man's moccasin of the type made in a hurry, on trips, etc. Cowhide sole, buckskin uppers. White Mountain Apache.

knives or paints or other small objects.

When an Apache man was out raiding or hunting or fighting, he wore a rawhide or buckskin belt with an attached knife sheath. And men and women always carried a bone awl for mending



Wooden awl and buckskin case. White Mountain.

Pre-war

War Years

Late 1880's—Reservation



H.A.W., Jr.

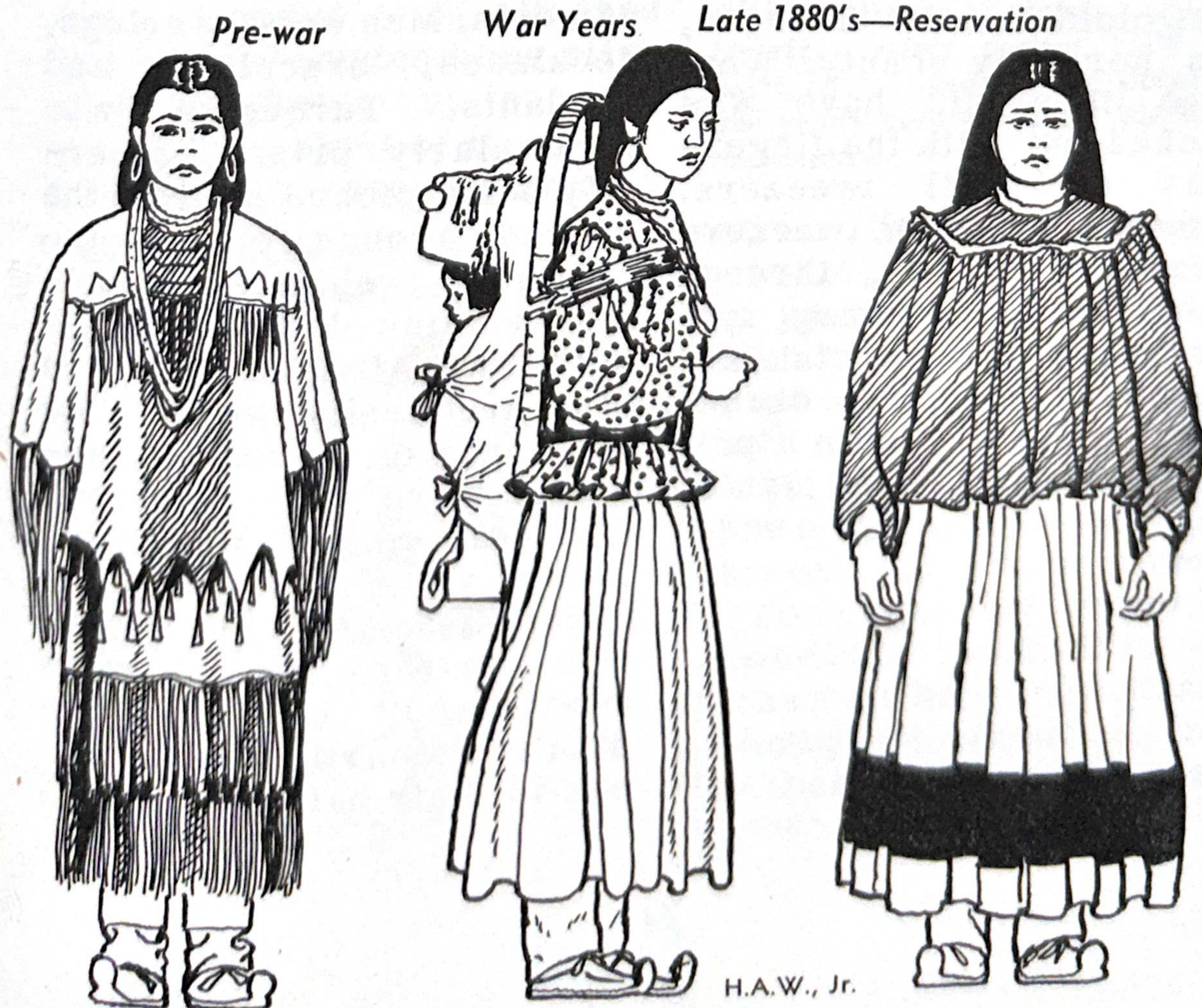
clothes and moccasins.

After the Apaches began to get cloth from the Mexicans, either through trade or by forceful appropriation, the men wore a loosely fitting shirt of red, white, or gray cotton cloth. Later this was generally made of calico. The bottom of this long shirt reached well down over a pair of loose cotton drawers which came down to the knees. By the 1870's the Apaches were midway between old and new customs in dress. To the native breechcloth and moccasins (the latter probably Spanish

in origin) were added such white man's garments as they had been able to lay their hands on in one way or another. These included the white man's denim shirt and, above all, black derby hats, which were highly prized.

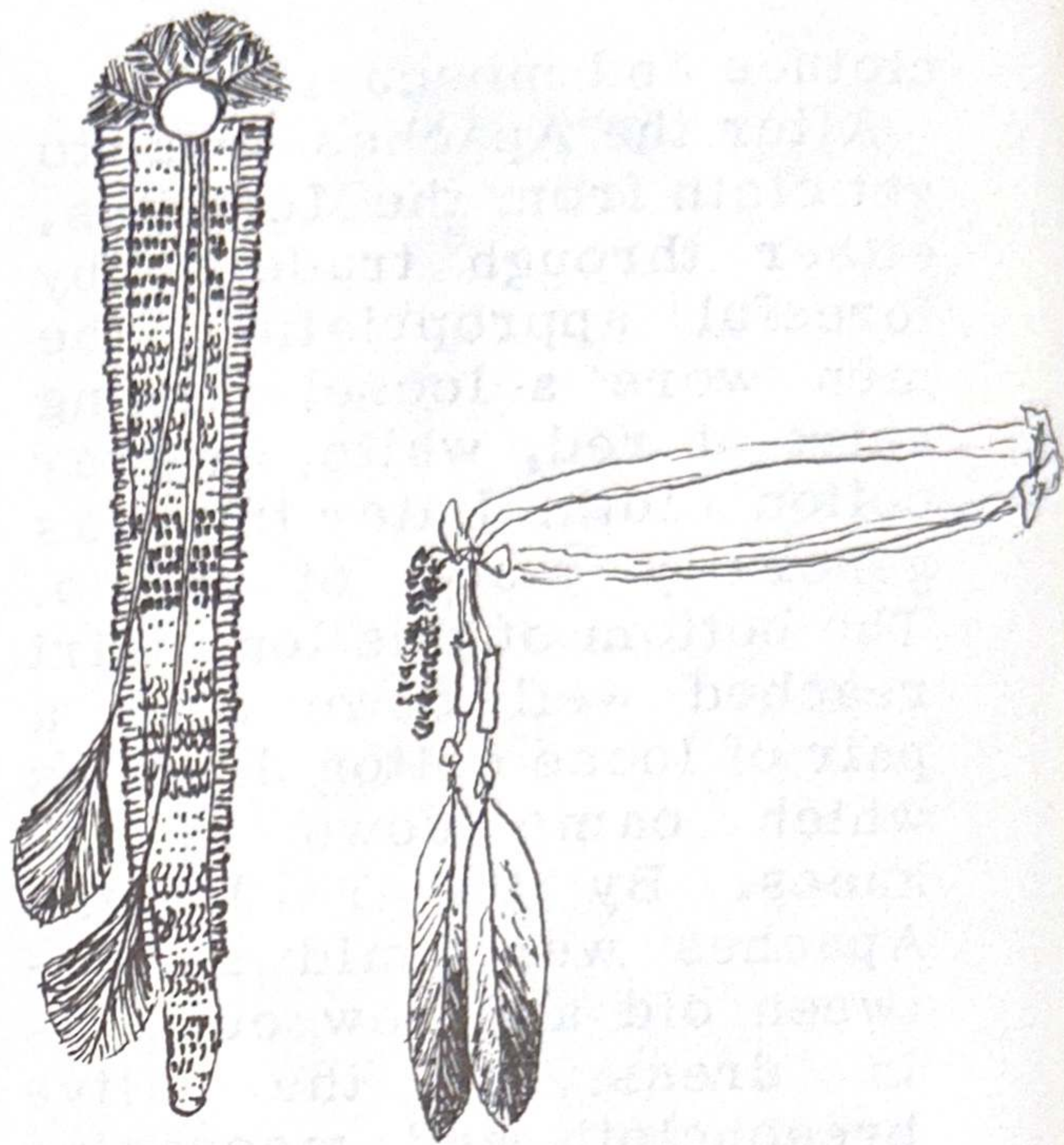
The Apache man wore his hair long and unbraided. To keep the hair out of his eyes he tied a strip of buckskin, later a piece of flannel or other cloth* around his head. Like the people of most of the Southwestern Indian tribes, both Apache men and women used pounded yucca root for shampooing their hair. After

*Ed. note: Old warriors told Hampton Haozous they preferred white or a bright color, because sometimes they hung their headband in a bush to one side to divert gunfire from themselves. DSK





A variety of soap yucca.



Right, Apache headdress from Sonora. Left, Chiricahua beaded hair ornament, collected June, 1885.

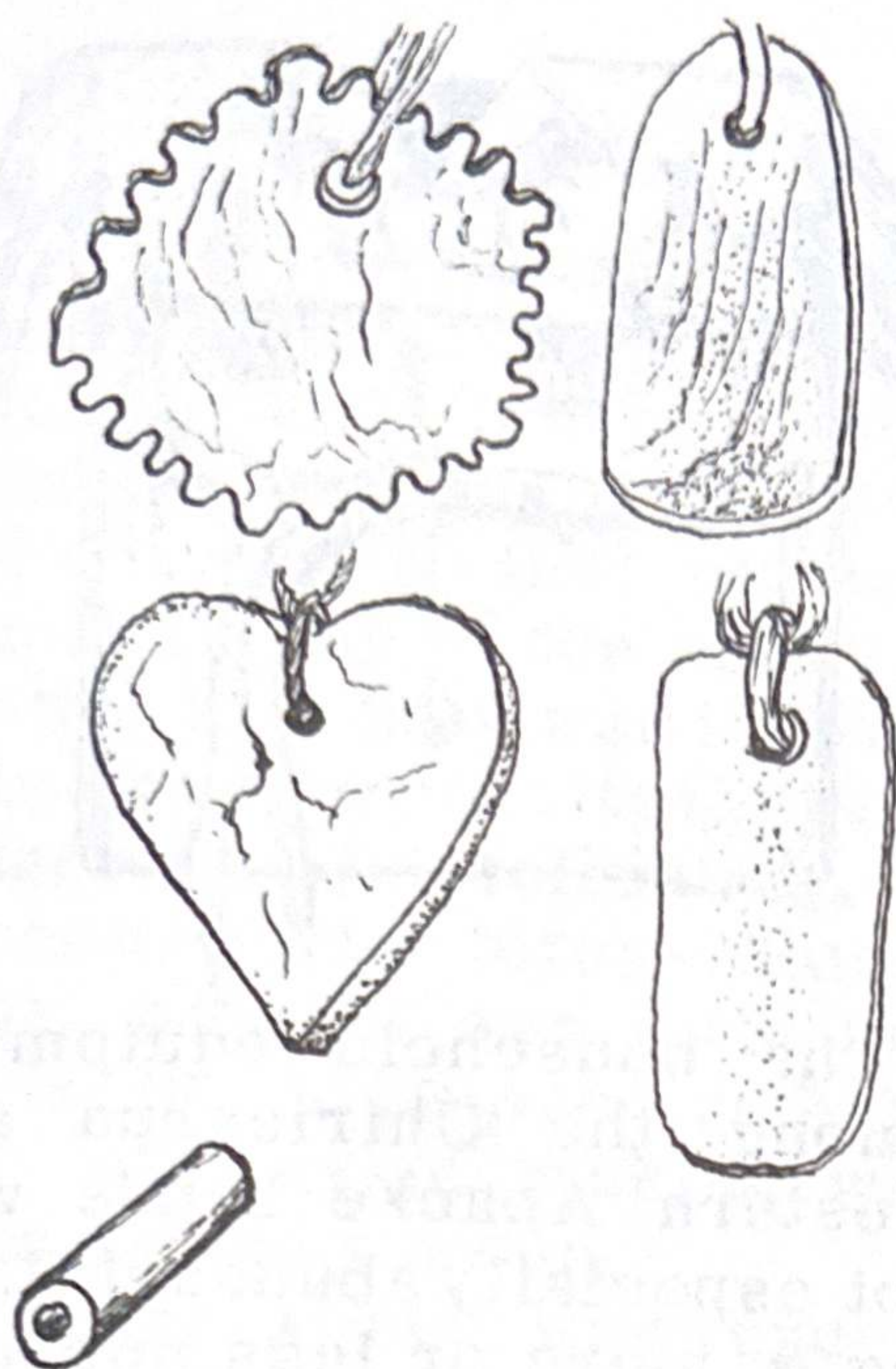
washing, the hair was made to stick together with deer fat.

Apache facial hair, like that of most members of the Mongoloid family of races, was normally scanty. What little they did have was plucked out with the fingernails or shell tweezers. Later, when metal tweezers became available, through trade or raid, every man carried a pair as standard equipment. If by some chance a man couldn't obtain a pair of tweezers, he would fashion his own by splitting the end of a metal cartridge case and flattening the split ends. As late as the 1930's, I have seen Apache men whiling away an idle moment by plucking their stray whiskers with

just such homemade shell case tweezers.

Both Apache men and women were fond of wearing ornaments. Men wore earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and pendants. Turquoise was particularly prized, generally being picked up from the ground around one of the countless prehistoric Pueblo Indian ruins dotting Apache territory. Abalone shell was also frequently worn. This and many of the other ornaments were worn primarily for their religious and protective value.

Neither the Chiricahua nor Western Apache were "feathered" Indians. They didn't ordinarily wear feathers in their hair. They didn't

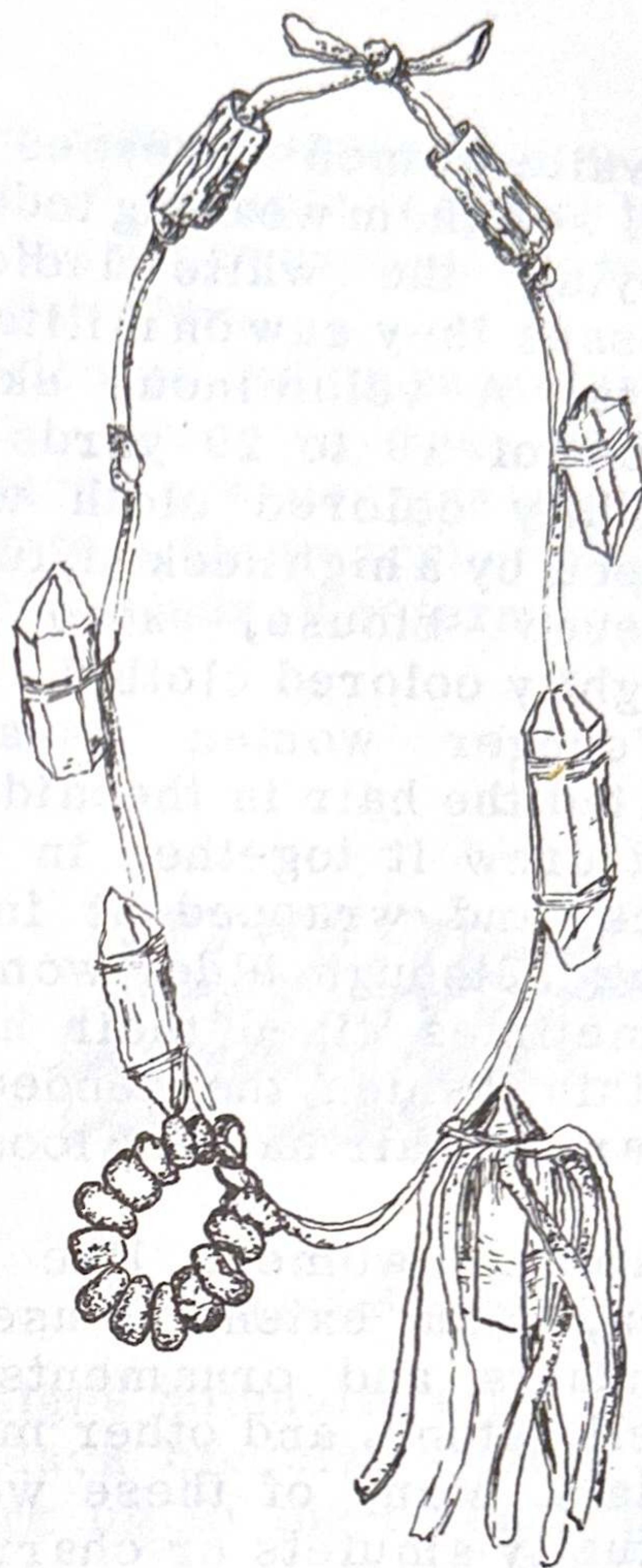
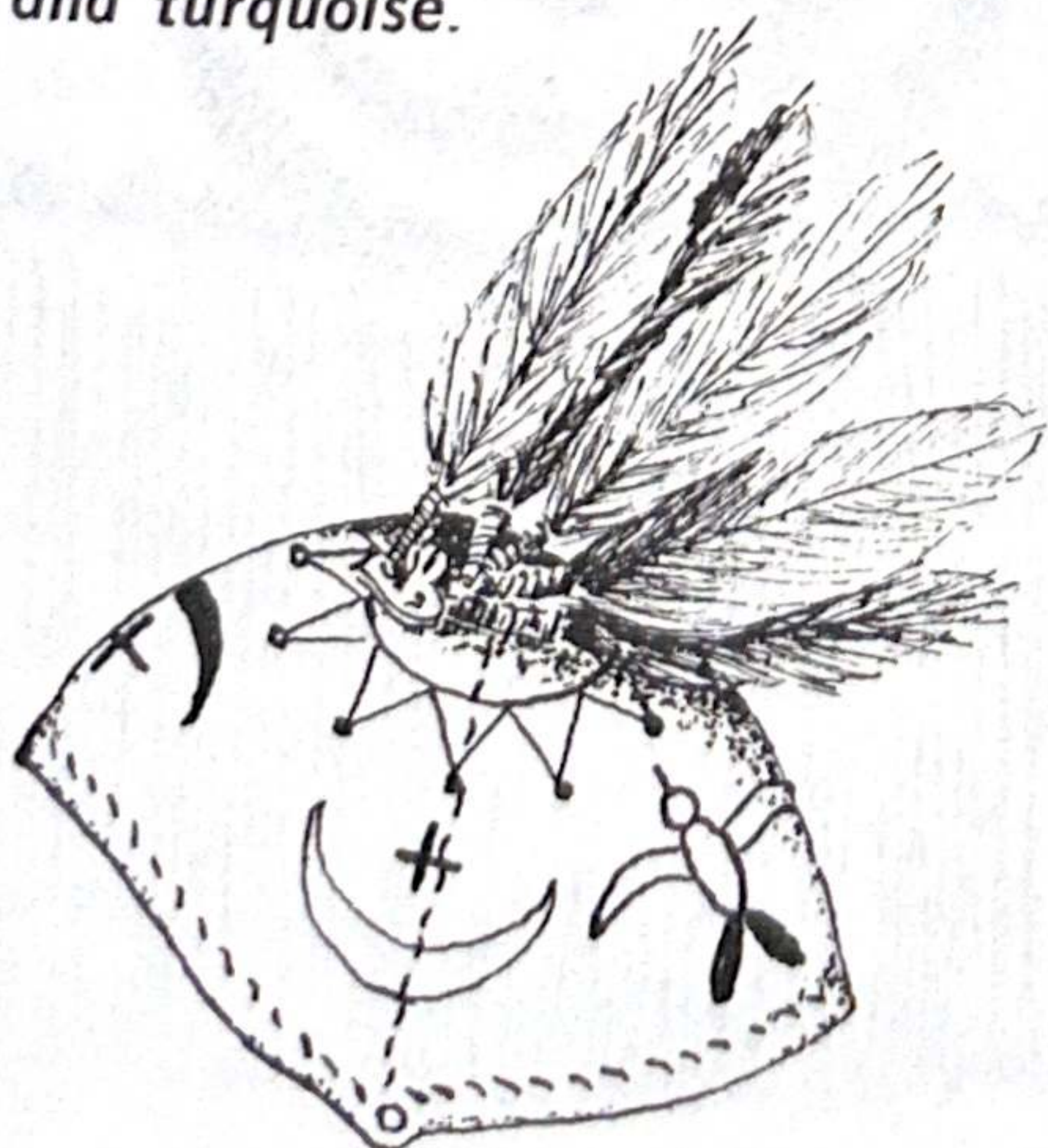


Shaped shell ornaments from ceremonial cap and a cylindrical bone bead.

go in for the huge feathered headdresses so typical of many of the Plains Indians, including some of their eastern Southern Athapaskan relatives. A medicine man's round buckskin hat might be decorated with attached eagle or raven feathers, clipped off short, but that was about the extent of it.

Apache women formerly

White Mountain medicine man's hat, yellow buckskin with eagle feather and turquoise.



White Mountain baby's charm. Quartz crystals protect child at night, cactus wood prevents sickness, and yellow corn wards off bad luck and disease.

wore a two-piece dress of buckskin, an upper poncho-like garment and a medium length skirt. Knee-high moccasins completed her costume.

Soft deerskin blankets were used by both sexes as outer covering in the colder weather. Blankets were also obtained in trade from the Mexicans and from both the Navajo and the Zuni.

In the 1870's Apache women began to adopt the styles

of white women's dresses we still see them wearing today, copying the white ladies' dresses they saw on military posts. A voluminous skirt made of 10 to 20 yards of brightly colored cloth was topped by a high necked, full-sleeved blouse, also of brightly colored cloth.*

Younger women usually parted the hair in the middle and drew it together in the back and wrapped it in a knot. Although older women sometimes fixed their hair in this fashion, they tended to wear the hair hanging loosely.

Apache women, like the men, made extensive use of pendants and ornaments of shell, stone, and other materials. Many of these were actually amulets or charms.

*Ed. note: Thus Apache dresses differ from those of the Mojave, for example, who had copied the style of dresses of the wives of soldiers of the earlier forts along the Colorado River.



The household equipment among the Chiricahua and Western Apache bands was not especially abundant. Living a more or less nomadic life, most of their implements and utensils had to be light and portable. Unlike their relatives the Navajo, they made no blankets, little jewelry.

Such household implements and utensils as they had included several kinds of baskets, an occasional clay

Above, White Mountain child's buckskin shirt ornamented with metal tinklers, a projectile point, and a quail's head. Right, a woman's buckskin shirt heavy with fringe and metal tinklers.



pot, gourd cups and dishes, skin bags of all sizes, stone metates and manos, bone awls, and wooden fire drills.

If the Apache Indian specialized in any of the arts and crafts, basketry was it. Baskets are a necessity for seed gathering, in collecting, in winnowing, in storage. Moreover, baskets are light and portable. Like seed gathering, all basket making was done by the women.

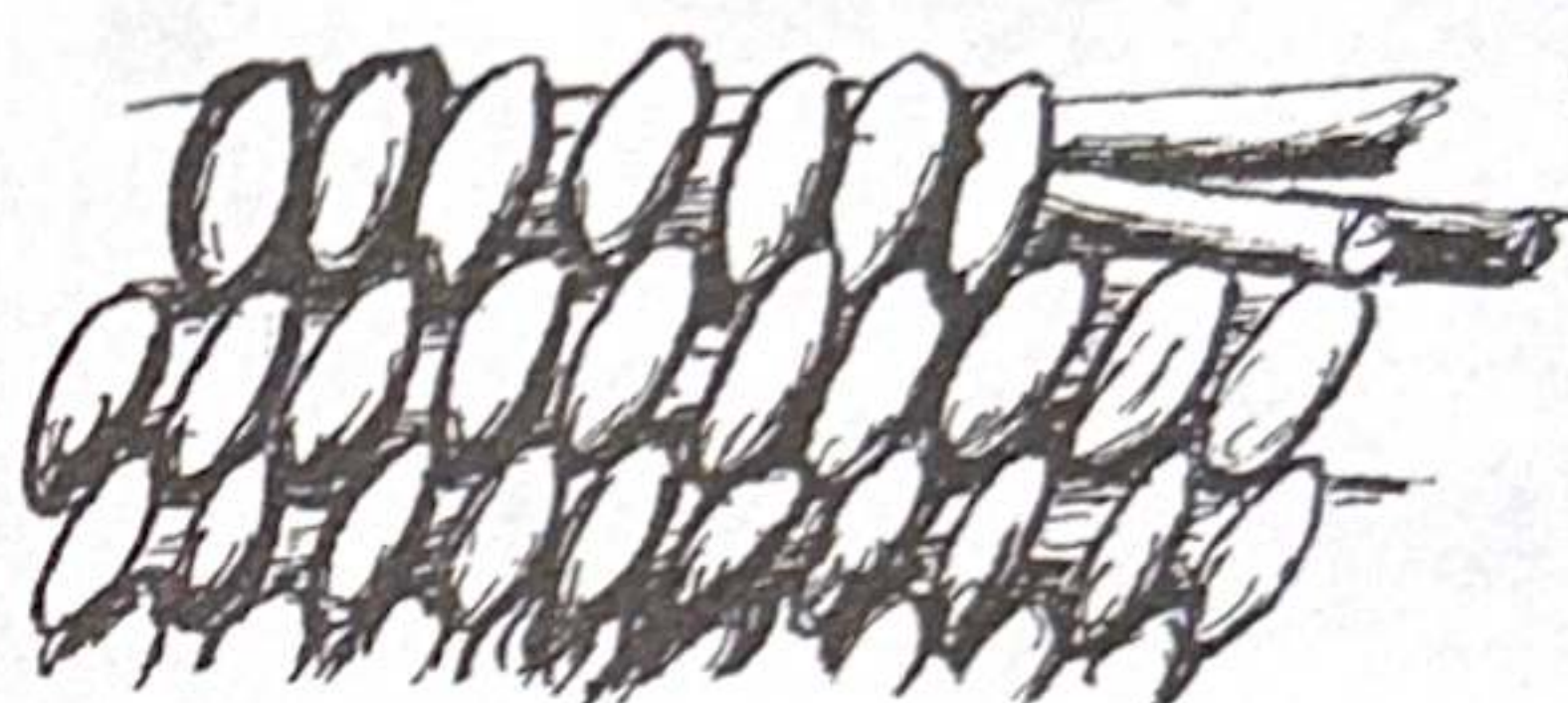
Apache women were excellent basket makers. They made a lot of them and made them in many shapes and sizes by several different methods. At least four types of baskets were made—bowls, storage jars, burden baskets, and pitch-covered water jars.

Bowls and storage jars were constructed by coiling. Three peeled willow or cottonwood twigs formed a triangular foundation for the coils which were sewn together by thin splints of the same materials. In early days wild mulberry twigs were frequently used for both foundation and sewing. A bone awl served to make holes in the coil for the insertion of the sewing splints. Now a steel awl set in a wooden handle is used.

To make black designs, contrasting with the light cream or tan willow and cottonwood splints, the outer covering of the seed pod of the devil's claw was split

and sewed around the coils. On old baskets the root bark of the yucca was used to make red designs.

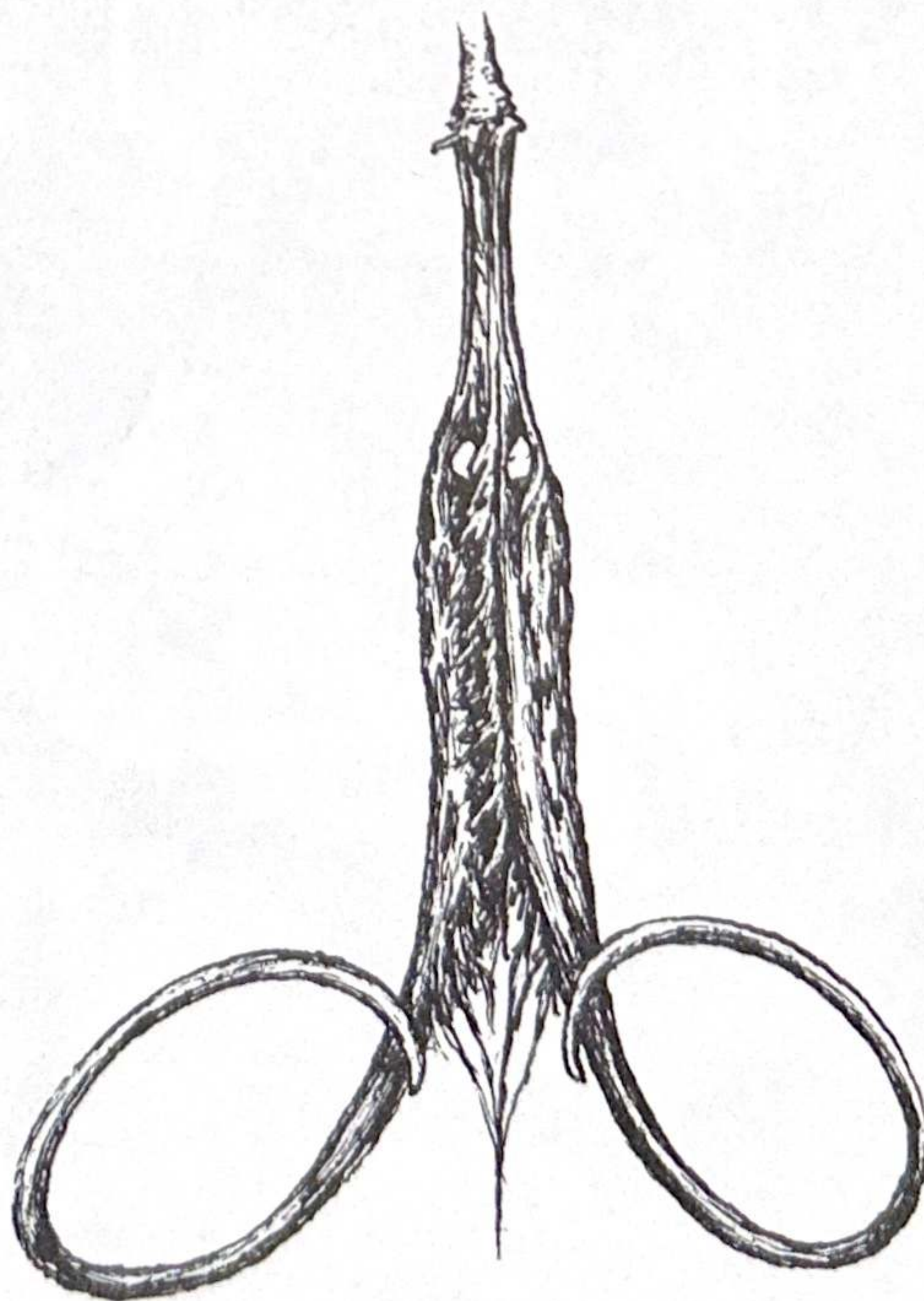
Like all Indian basket makers, the Apache women formed the designs according to a plan carried only in their minds. Western Apache



Section of coiled basketry.

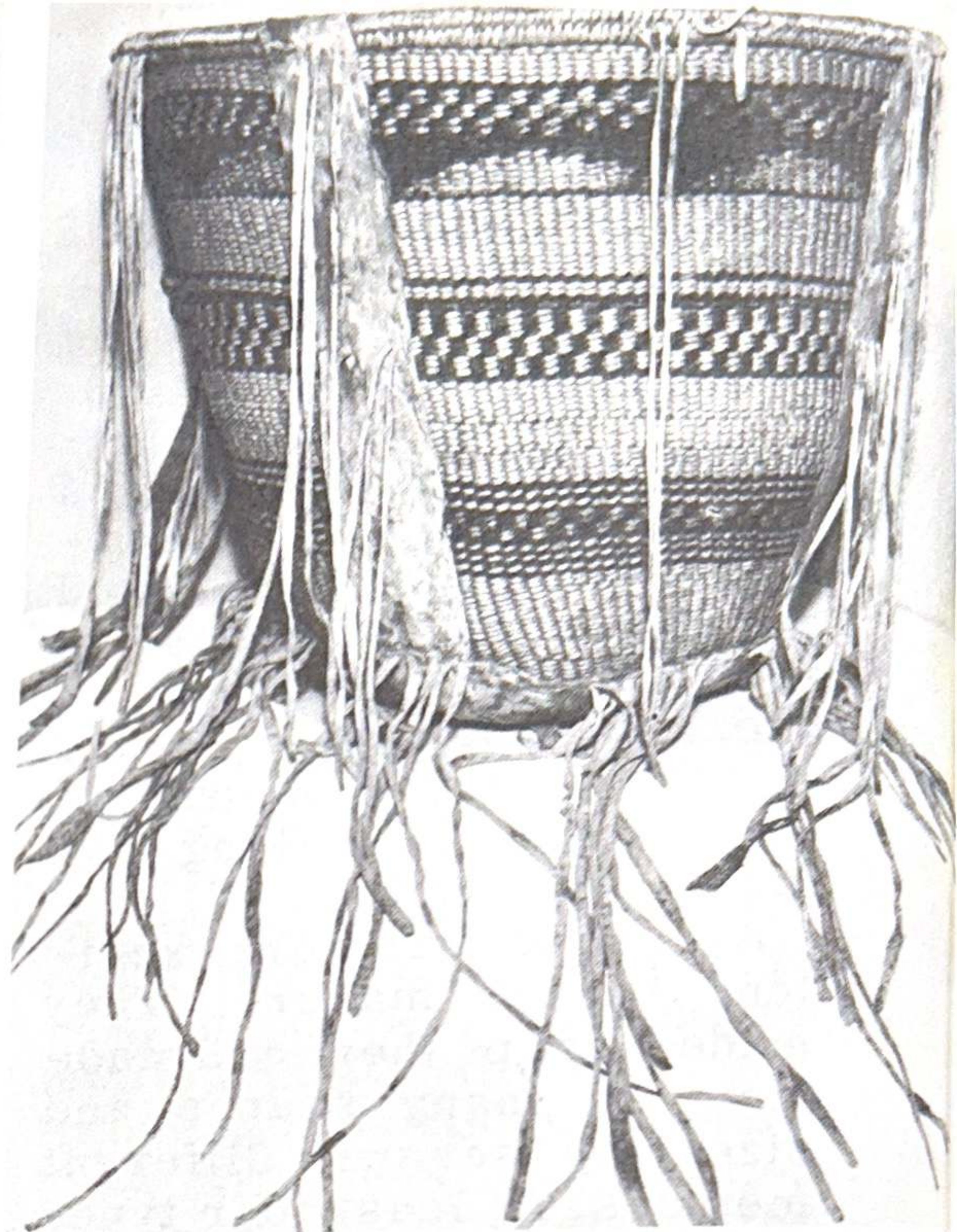
designs normally start from a black circular center and work up to the black rim in

Seed pod of the Devil's Claw or Martynia.





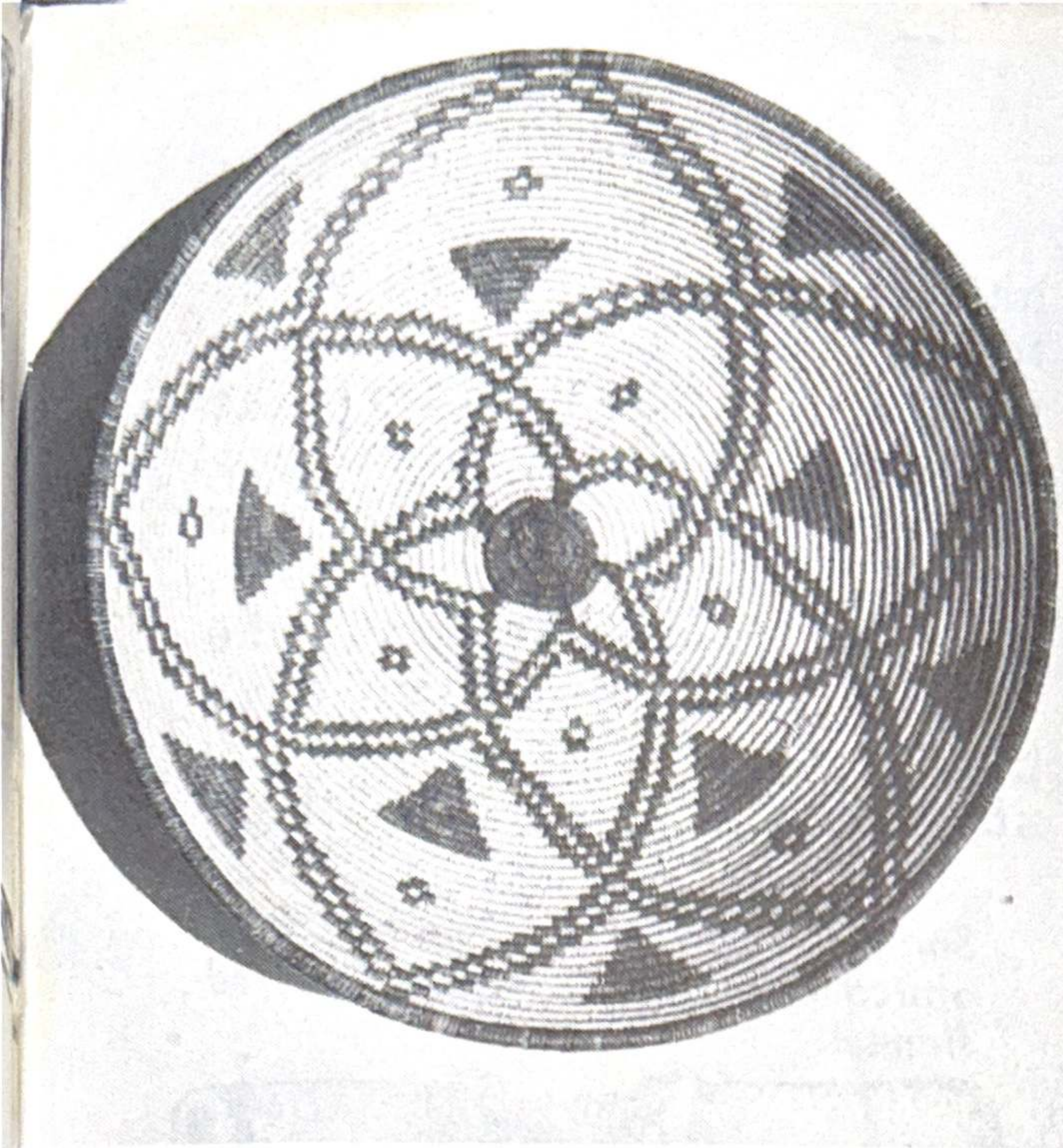
Coiled storage basket.



Twined burden-basket.

Apache basket maker twining a burden basket. Water baskets on right are freshly woven, those on left are covered with pitch. Western Ways photos by Herbert.





*Coiled basket in black and tan.
Western Ways photo by Herbert.*

a series of diagonal, vertical, or zigzag geometric patterns. Frequently supplementing these are angular human or animal figures. The more elaborate designs are modern, perhaps since 1890's, the older designs being much simpler.

Apache coiled basketry may be distinguished by its black and tan color, the fine and even stitches, the geometric and angular human and animal figures, and by the small, round corrugations of its coiling.

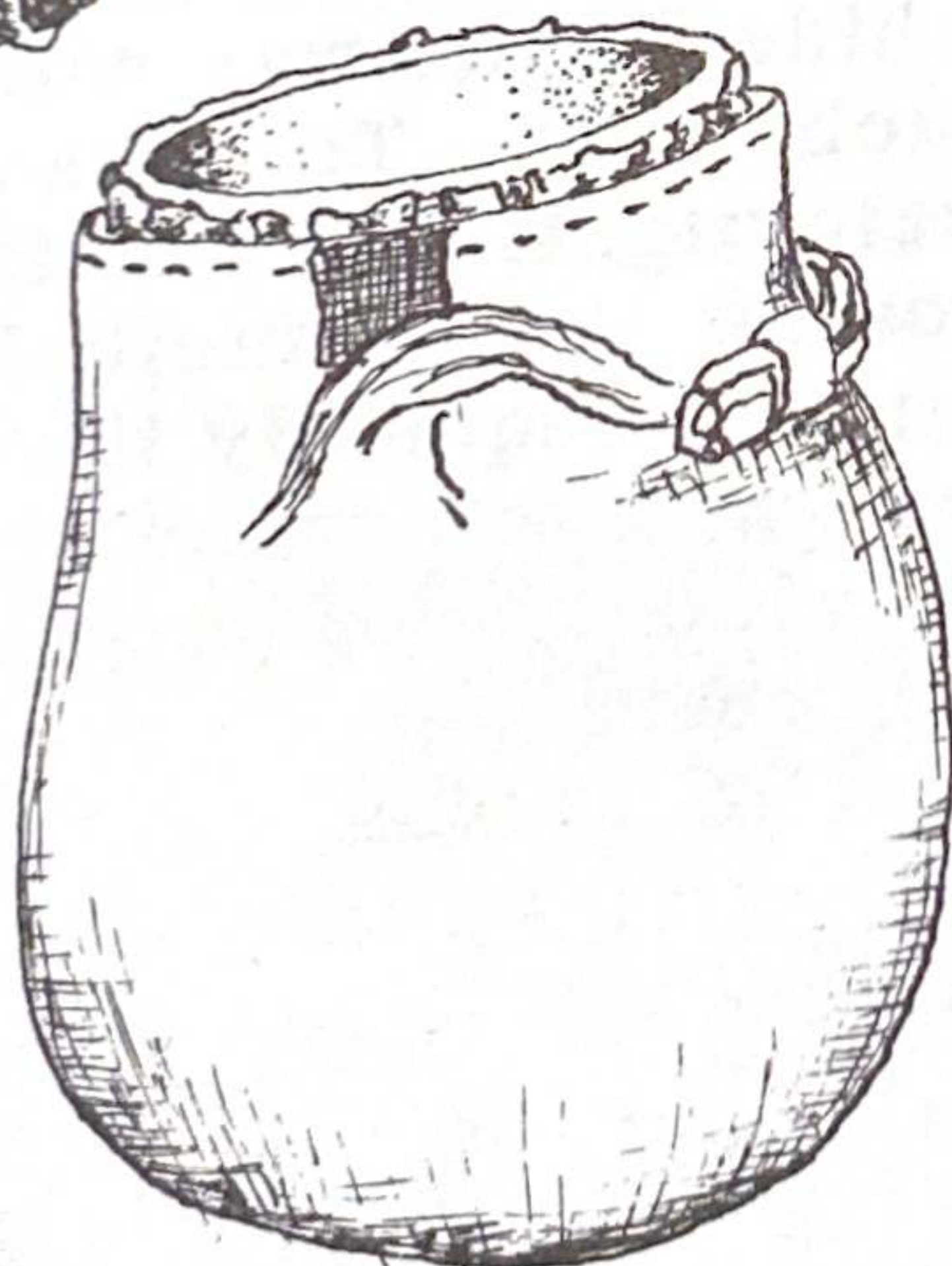
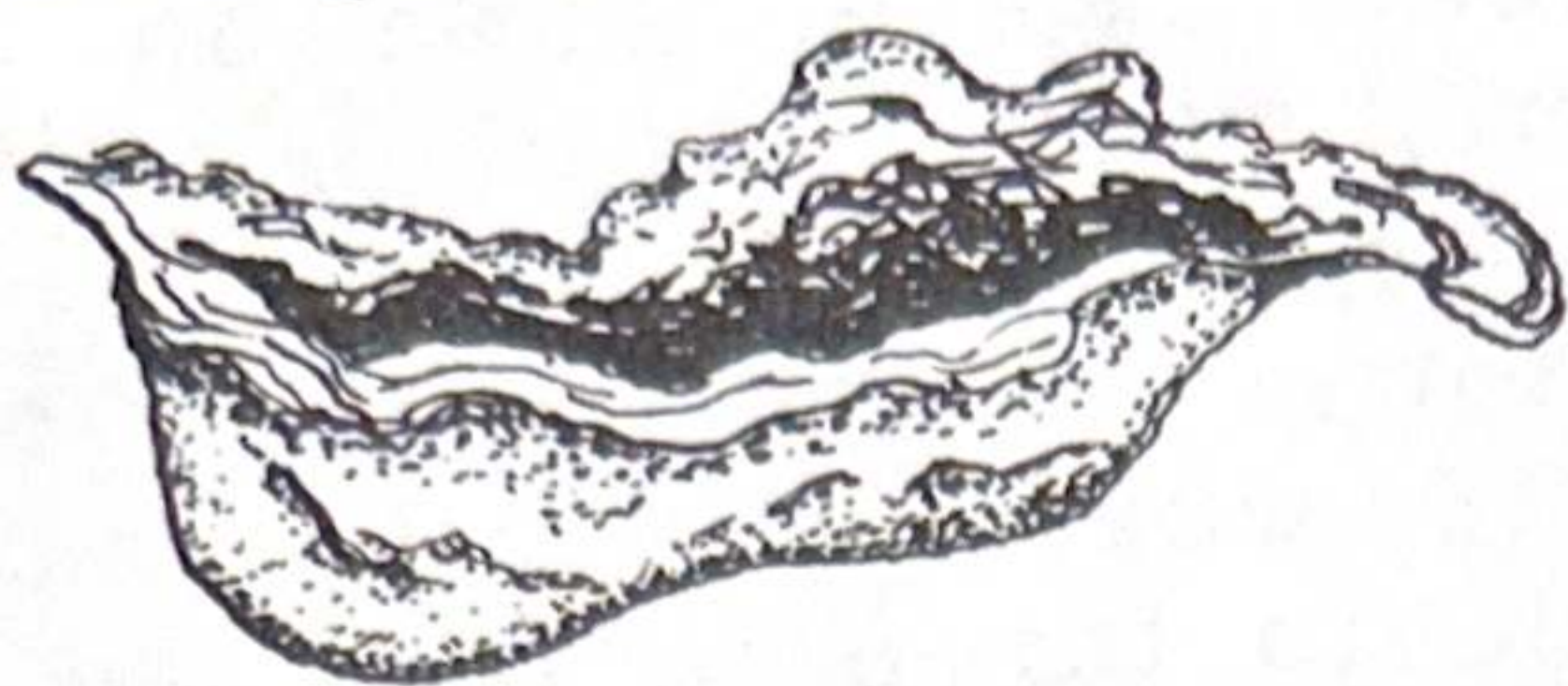
Basketry trays or bowls range from 2 to 10 inches in depth and from 4 to 30 inches in diameter. They were used for every household need from holding food to winnowing seed or grain. Storage jars range in size from 6 to 30 or more inches in diameter and from

10 to 40 inches in height.

Large burden or carrying baskets were made in a twined weave, usually of split sumac, although sometimes willow was used. Designs on these were generally confined to three or four horizontal colored bands encircling the basket. Often, however, the bottom was covered with buckskin, with fringes of buckskin and sometimes dangling tin cones or pendants.

Apache water jars or canteens are actually tightly woven, pitch covered baskets. These narrow-necked jars were made by twining, usually of split sumac. Often a hide handle was woven into each side. To make them watertight, the inside was coated with melted pinon pitch. Frequently the outside was also coated with pitch. A yucca fiber brush or a stick with a piece of buckskin tied to it was used to paint the pitch on the jars. Sometimes red ocher was rubbed over the outer surface before the pitch was applied. This served not only to fill in the tiny crevices but also to form a decorative effect as the red showed through the pitch. Both small and large water jars were made, the larger ones frequently being made to hold tiswin. When water was carried in one of these jars, the top was plugged with a wad of clean grass or juniper bark.

OTHER CONTAINERS FOR LIQUIDS

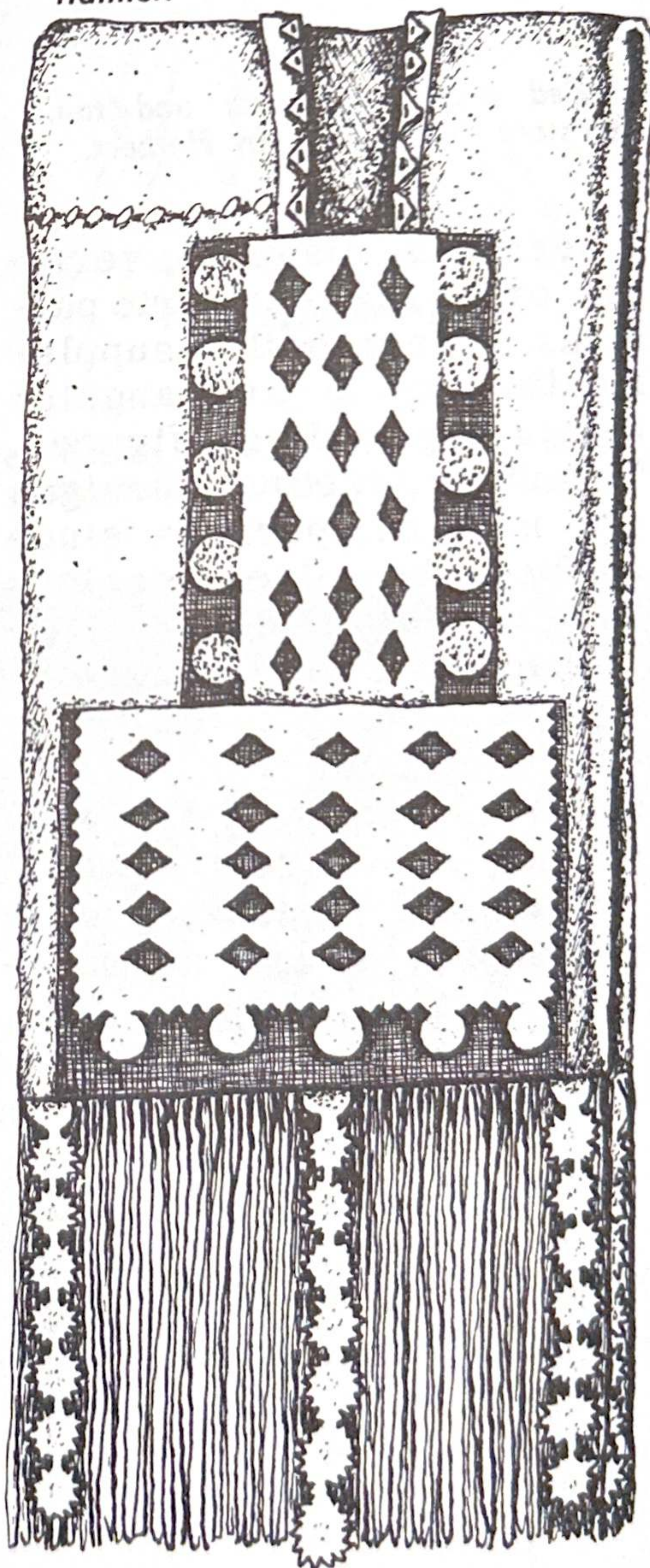


Top, "Cactus shoe" material from interior of saguaro, White Mountain. Middle, Agave stalk with pitched canvas over bottom, San Carlos. Bottom, Squash shell covered with flour sack and burlap, San Carlos.

Another task of Apache women was the tanning and preparing of hides. Deer, antelope, and elk hides were used in great quantities. The

hair was left on those skins to be used as blankets or robes. From all others the hair was scraped off with a wide sharpened deer bone or stone. To turn the stiff rawhide into soft buckskin, the women worked warm deer brains into the skins and stretched and pulled them

San Carlos cowhide double bags decorated with pierced leather over red flannel.





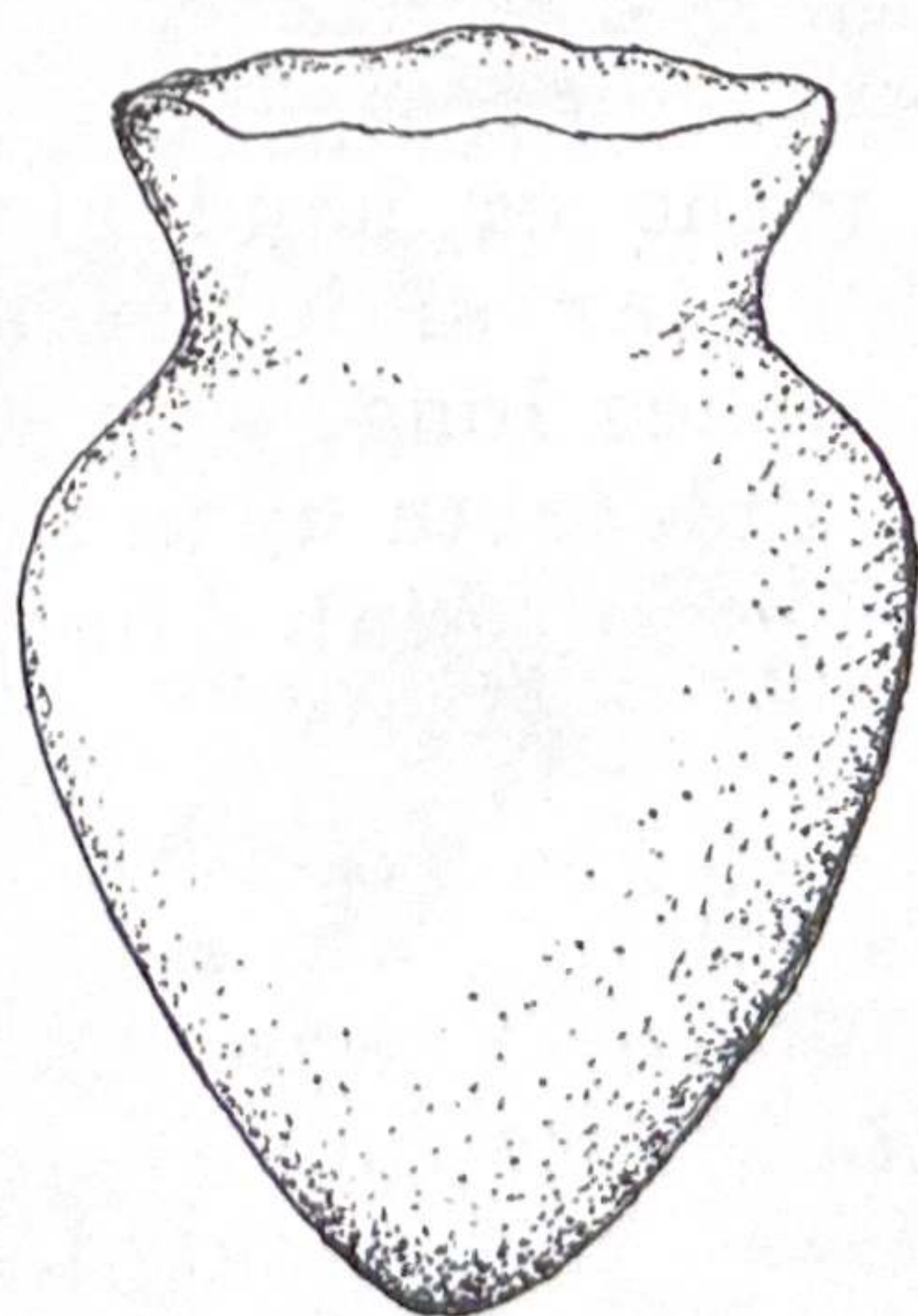
until they were tanned.

From buckskin the women made, in addition to clothing, containers of all sizes for storage bags, gathering nuts and other wild plant foods, water carriers, awl cases, knife sheaths, pollen bags, and for many other purposes.

Buckskin was frequently dyed—dark brown from the juice of walnut hulls (see page 70, top photo), red from the boiled root and bark of the mountain mahogany, yellow from algerita roots. Yellow ocher was sometimes rubbed over a skin to give it a yellow color.

For sewing skins together, deer sinew was used as thread and a bone awl made from the sharpened leg bone of a deer was used to punch holes in the skins.

Though both the Chiricahua and Western Apache made pottery, it was



Left, beaded bag. Above, Apache pot.

much more common among the Western Apache. Like the more prevalent Navajo and other Southern Athapaskan pottery, it was characterized by its dark gray or black color, a conical or pointed base, and flaring rims with raised or incised decoration around the rims. Tall, narrow cooking vessels were the most common.

Pottery making was again women's work. To begin a vessel, a lump of clay was molded over the knee to form the conical base. To this, coils of clay were added to build up the side walls. After drying, it was baked in a hot fire.

Pottery making among the Apaches has long since died out. Today there are only a handful of pieces left in museums.

Of all the standard Apache household items, the bulkiest were the tools used to grind and pulverize seeds and corn and other dry foods. These grinding or milling stones were the metate and mano. The mano or hand stone, a rectangular slab of stone 6 to 8 inches long, was rubbed back and forth upon a lower flat rock slab called a metate.

Not many Apache women made their own manos and metates. It was too hard work. It was much easier to find and use those left be-

hind by the former occupants of the region, the prehistoric Pueblo Indians. In the 1930's when a party of University of Arizona archaeologists was uncovering Kinishba Pueblo near Fort Apache, many Apache men and women came to watch the excavations. They were extremely interested in the hundreds of metates and manos we had found in the ruins and quickly packed off all those we did not want.

Another common item of equipment found in most wickiups was a baby carrier or cradleboard. An Apache baby normally had two carriers, a small temporary one made at the time of birth and a larger, permanent one 3 or 4 months later.

The permanent baby carrier was made of a single piece of pliable ash, oak, or peeled mesquite root. This was bent into a long flat oval about 40 inches long and 12 to 14 inches wide, with the overlapping ends tied at the top. Across this, close-spaced slats of sotol stalks were lashed with rawhide thongs through holes burned in the ends of the slats. Near the top of this framework was fastened a hood or canopy made of 30 to 40 horizontally placed peeled cat-claw twigs. The open top of the hood was covered with buckskin painted with yel-



MAKING A CRADLEBOARD

Top left, trimming pine sapling for frame.

Top right, bending sapling.

Middle left, gathering sotol for slats.

Middle right, applying cloth for bindings.

Bottom right, baby in finished cradleboard.

Western Ways Photos by Herbert.



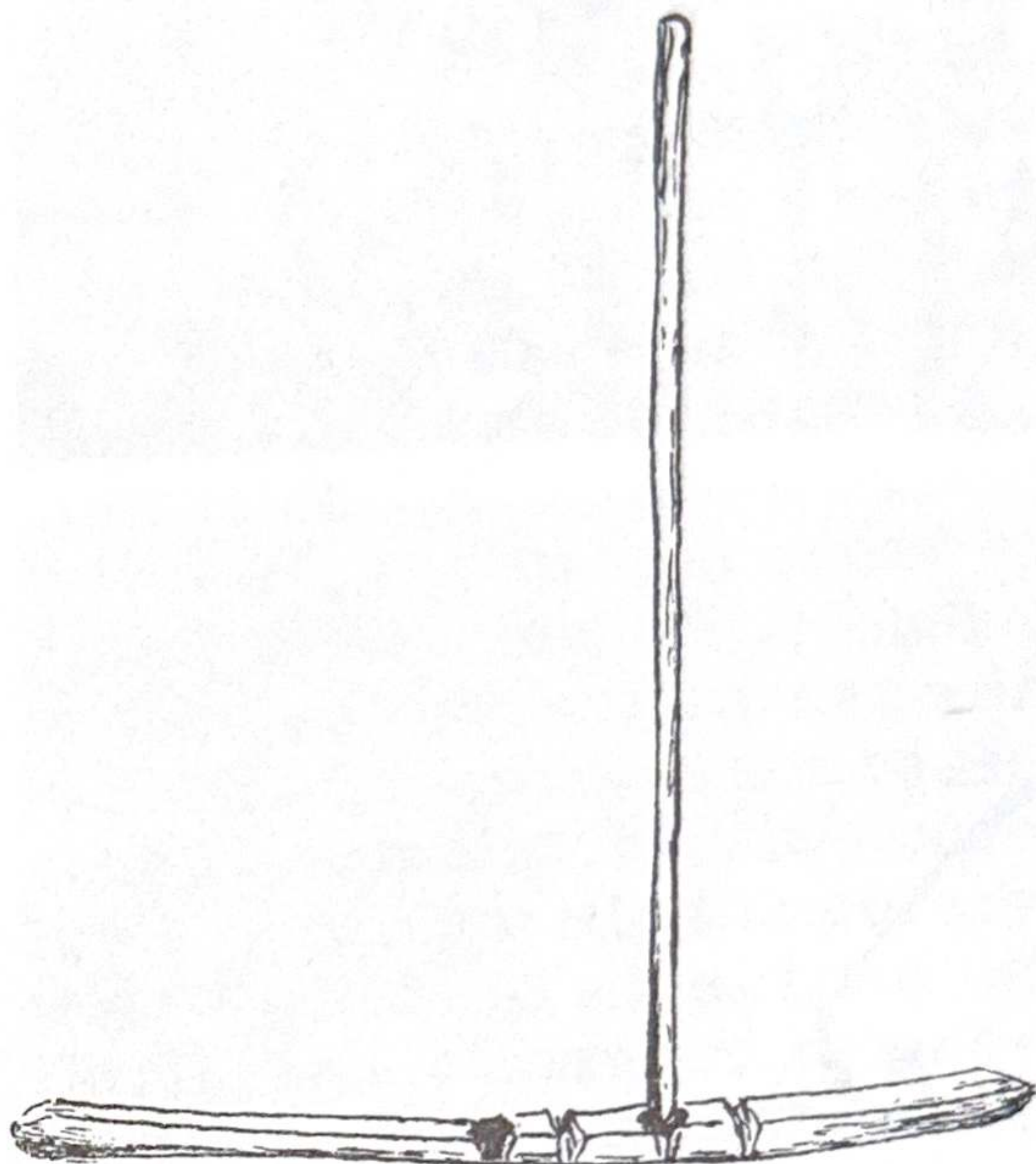
low ocher.

To make the carrier comfortable a soft padding of shredded bark or crumpled grass was covered with a tanned skin of a fawn or cottontail rabbits, fur side up. The baby was laid on this and covered with a second tanned skin. The baby was then lashed into the carrier with a strip of buckskin passing from side to side through a series of buckskin loops on each side of the framework. The cradleboard was supported on the mother's back by a buckskin carrying strap across her forehead.

Various small objects were usually attached to the hood, either to amuse the child or to serve as charms or amulets. These included bags of pollen, tails of squirrels, pine cones, prehistoric shell beads, and stone arrowheads.

Though the fire is associated with the household and women's work, the fire drill was made by the Apache man and was used most frequently by him. The matches of the Apache consisted of a flat piece of sotol stalk or yucca and an 8- to 10-inch pencil-like stick of dry wood, juniper or sotol, together with dry juniper bark and dry grass. These two sticks were wrapped together and carried in a skin bag tied to the belt or in the quiver when the men were on a trip.

To light a fire, one end of the pencil-like stick was inserted in a notch cut in the flat piece of sotol and twirled between the hands until the friction ignited the shredded juniper bark and grass. The



Fire-making Set

bow drill is post-Spanish. Flints and pyrites were also used to light fires after European contact.

To furnish light or to carry fire from one camp to another, strips of juniper bark were tied together to make a long torch.

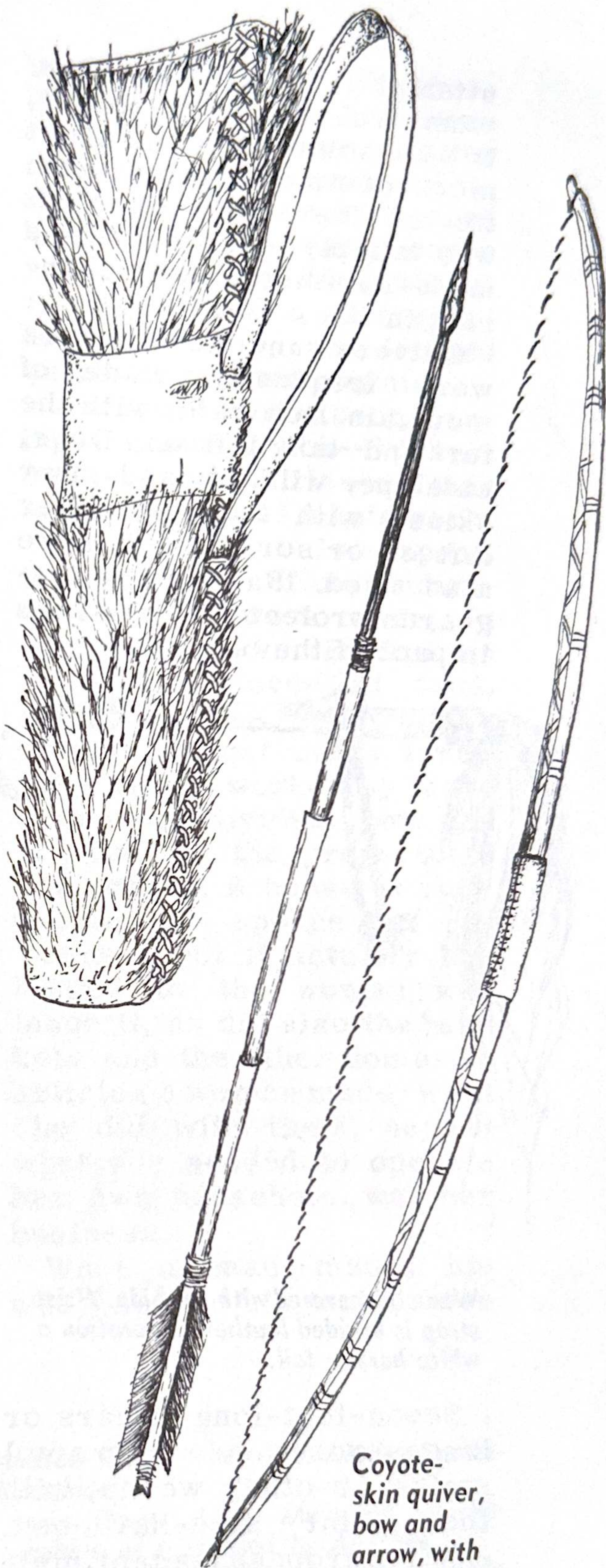
Hunting and raiding occupied much of the time of Apache men. Still, in order to hunt and raid they had to spend considerable time in repairing their old weapons and making new ones. Before the acquisition of guns, the

Apache man's hunting and fighting equipment consisted of bows and arrows, spears or lances, clubs, and knives.

Bows were made of wood from mulberry, oak, or locust trees. The average bow was usually 3 to 4 feet long, with a single curve, though double-curved bows were occasionally made. After the wood was cut and properly seasoned, it was bent and tied and put in hot ashes. After it cooled, it retained its curved shape. The outer surface was usually painted some solid color, with a few decorative designs or identification marks on the inside. The bow string was made from deer sinew.

Arrows were of two kinds, one with a reed or cane shaft with a hardened foreshaft, the other entirely of hardwood, either mulberry or mountain mahogany. Cane arrows were the favorite among both Chiricahua and Western Apache. These arrows were usually about 30 inches long and were decorated with bands or strips of black, blue, or red paint. To the butt of the shaft three split eagle, red-tailed hawk, buzzard, or turkey feathers were attached with wet sinew.

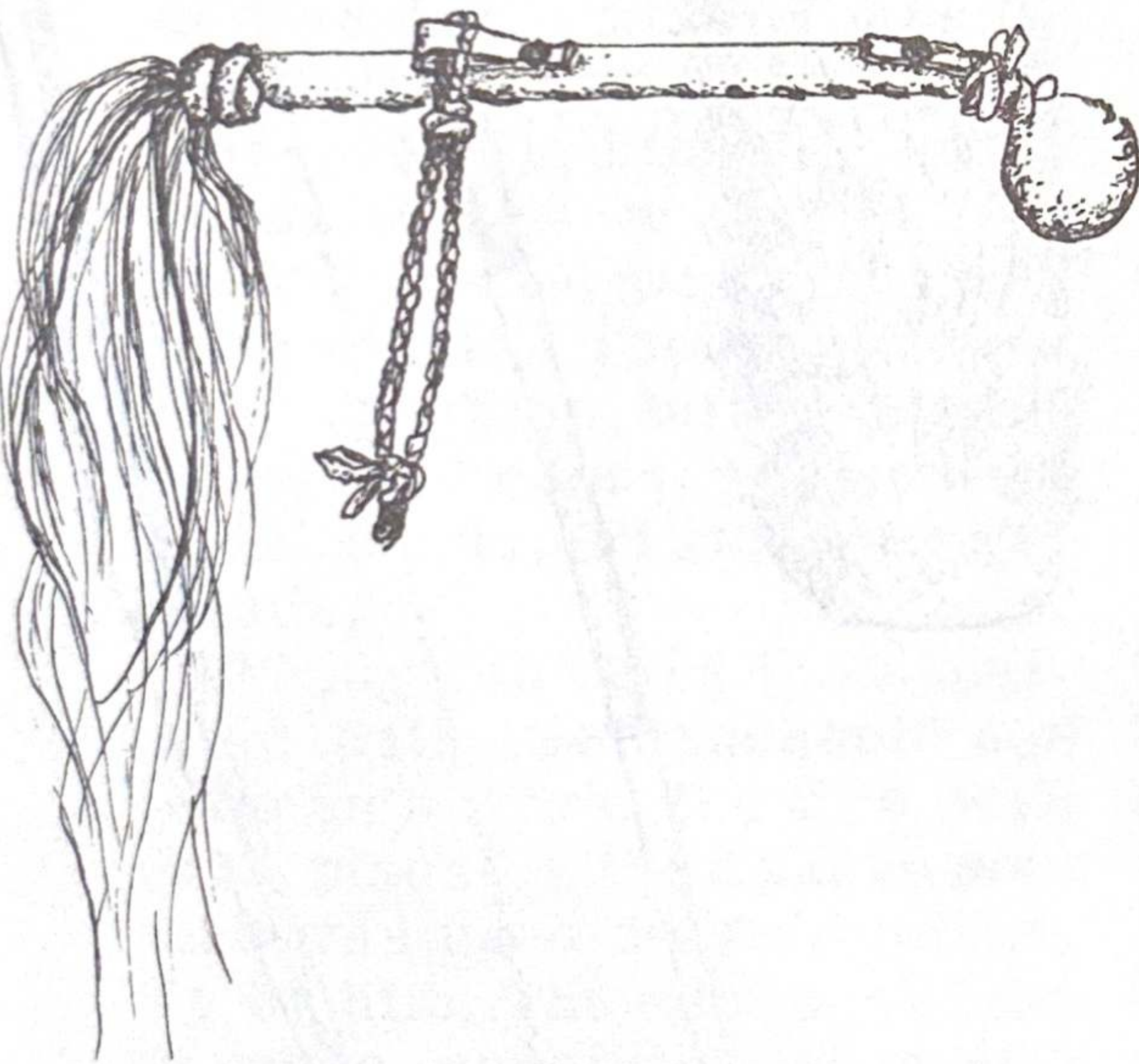
Flint arrowheads were used when they could be found around prehistoric ruins. There was very little



Coyote-skin quiver, bow and arrow, with cane shaft and hardwood foreshaft.

attempt to make their own. When iron could be obtained, it was sometimes used. But more commonly the wooden tip of the hardwood shaft was simply sharpened and made symmetrical by charring in fire.

Quivers and bow covers were frequently made of mountain lion skin, with the fur and tail left on. Deer, antelope, wildcat, and otter skins, with the fur either left on or scraped off, were also used. Rawhide wristguards protected against the impact of the bowstring.



War club covered with rawhide. Wrist strap is braided leather, decoration a white horse's tail.

Seven-foot-long spears or lances were made from sotol stalks or other woods, with the point fire-hardened. After European contact, met-

al knives and bayonets were used to tip the spears.

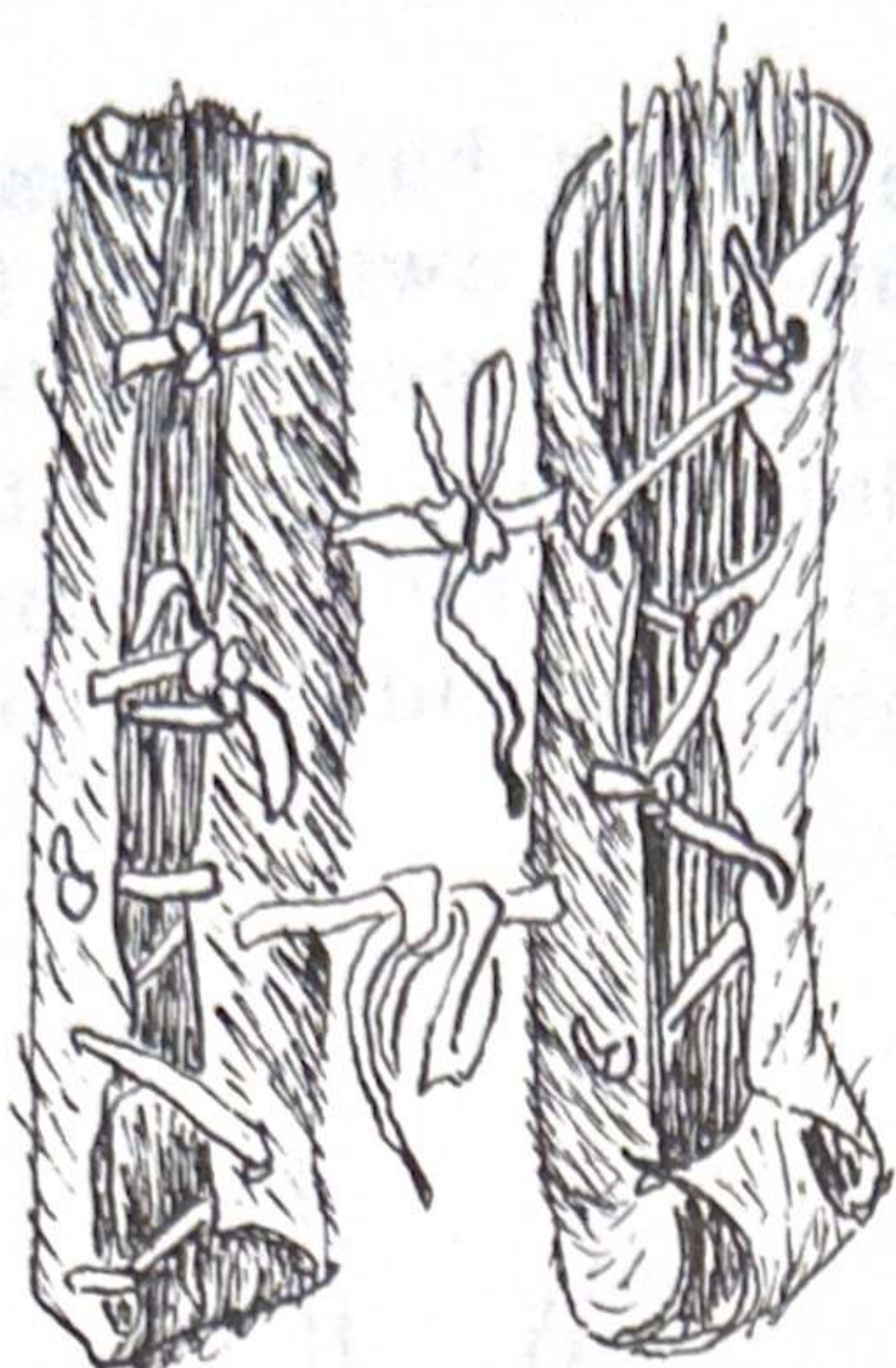
A round, fist-sized stone was covered with rawhide and connected by a short piece of rawhide to a wooden handle to make a war club. A loop of buckskin was attached to the handle for a hand hold. A horse tail was often tied to the end of the handle. These clubs were sometimes used as war clubs, sometimes as axes around the camp.

Both the Chiricahua and Western Apache often used rawhide slings to hurl stones in hunting birds and even deer.

Stone knives were used prior to the introduction of metal by the whites.

Circular hide shields were used by both Western Apache and Chiricahua men. Since these were made primarily of cowhide, they may have been a recent acquisition. Some had buckskin covers sewn over the rawhide, and most were painted with sun symbols or other decorative designs. These shields were connected as much with ceremonialism as with actual defense (see page 119).

When the Apaches secured horses after the middle of the 17th century, they began making saddles and such other equipment as they could trade for or steal. For saddles many of the Apaches

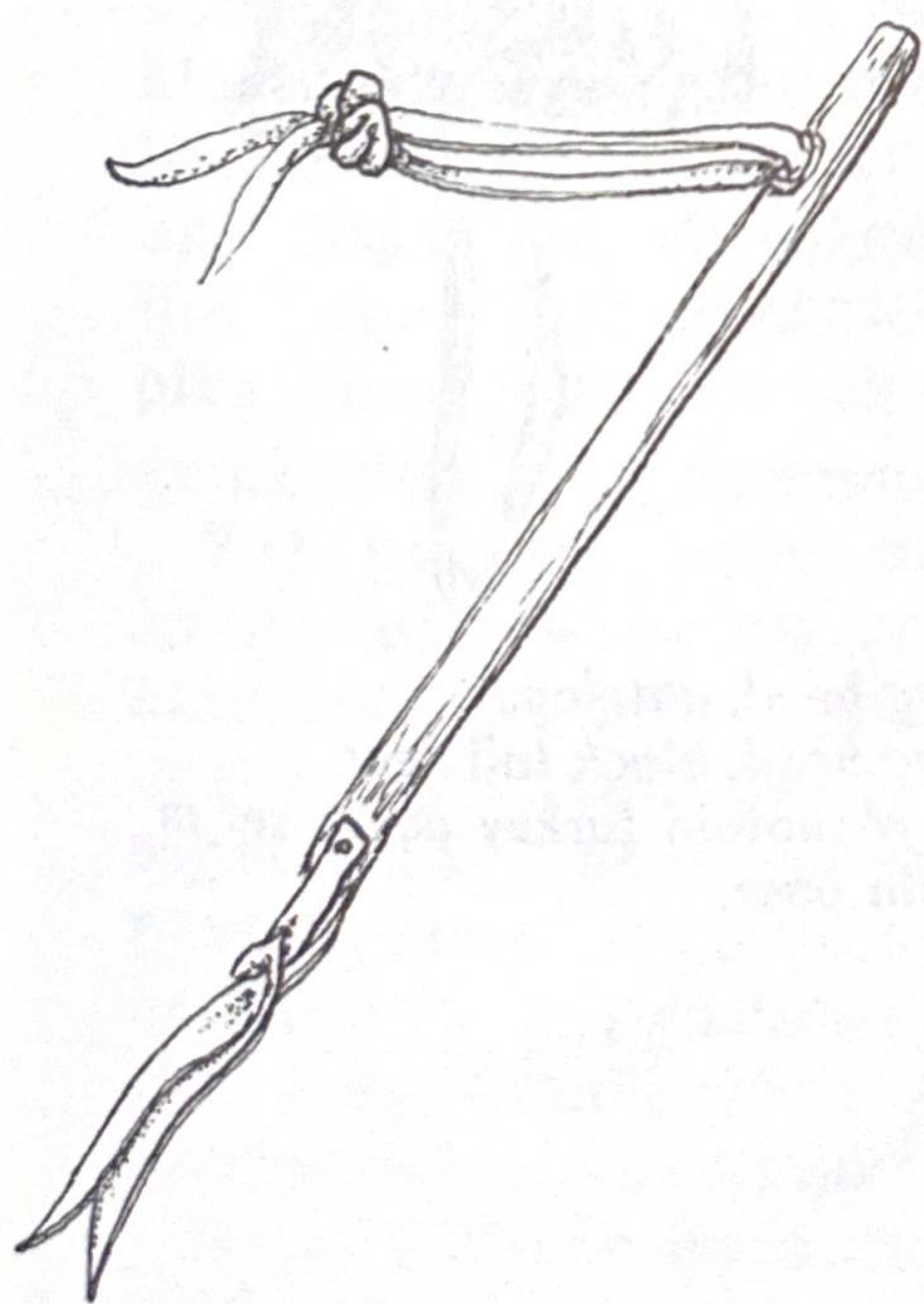
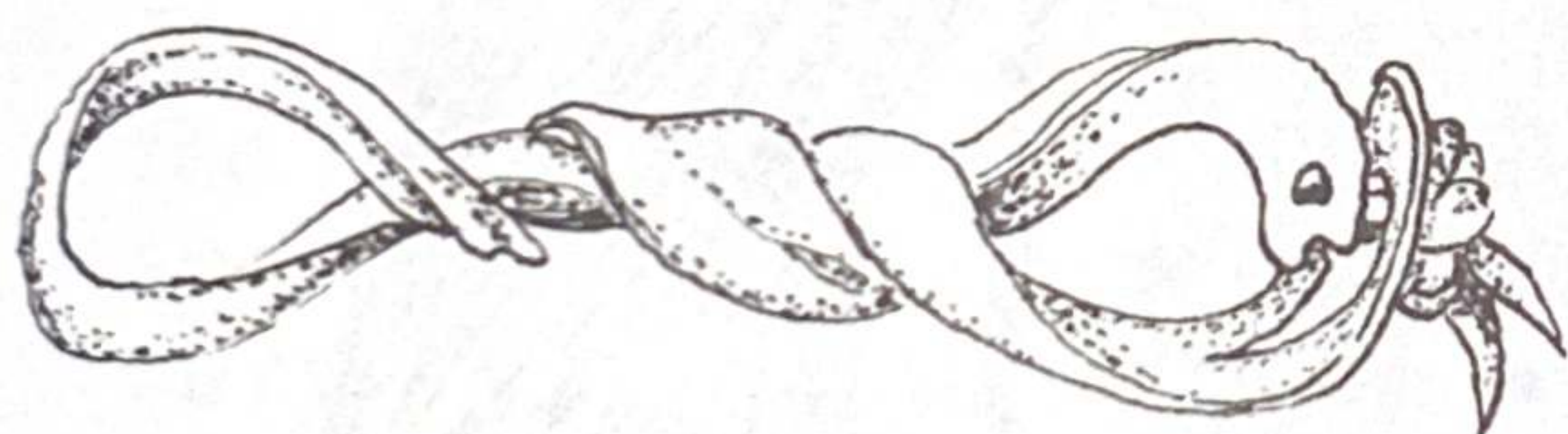


used two rolls of rawhide stuffed with grass. Others made a saddle modeled after European ones, with a cottonwood framework covered with rawhide. Long ropes were made of buckskin or rawhide, bridles of braided horsetail hair, and fringed quirts of braided rawhide.

As you would expect, caring for such stock—horses, mules, and cattle—as they might have, was man's work.

As you might also expect, the products of an individual's handiwork were, in theory, his own. Except for land and stores of food, property was individually owned. Almost every farm, even though worked by more than one individual, was described as the property of one person. A house was occasionally spoken of as "ours," but it actually belonged to the woman who made it, as did also the baskets and the other domestic articles a woman made. What she did with them, beyond what she needed to operate her own household, was her business.

What a man made, his weapons and his tools, were



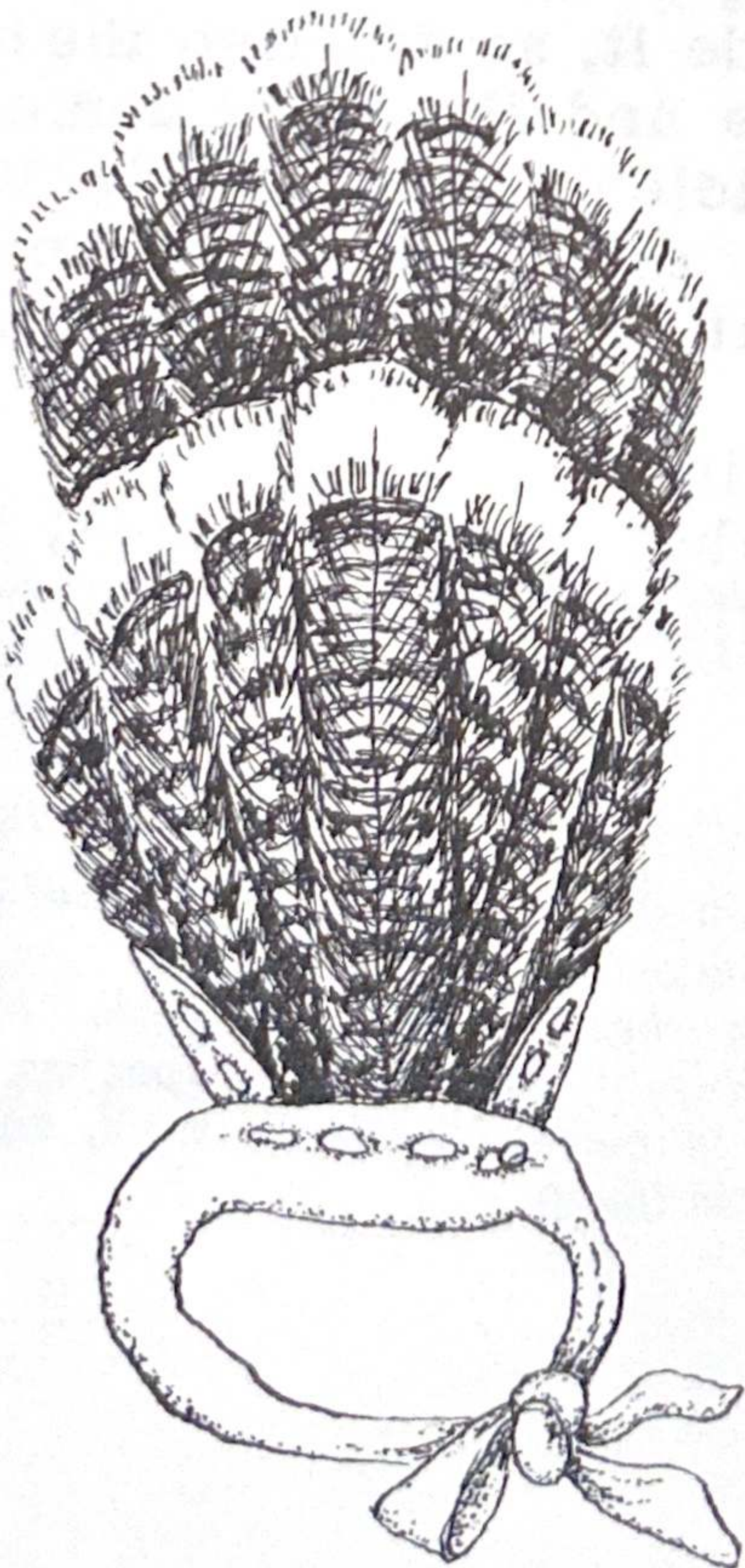
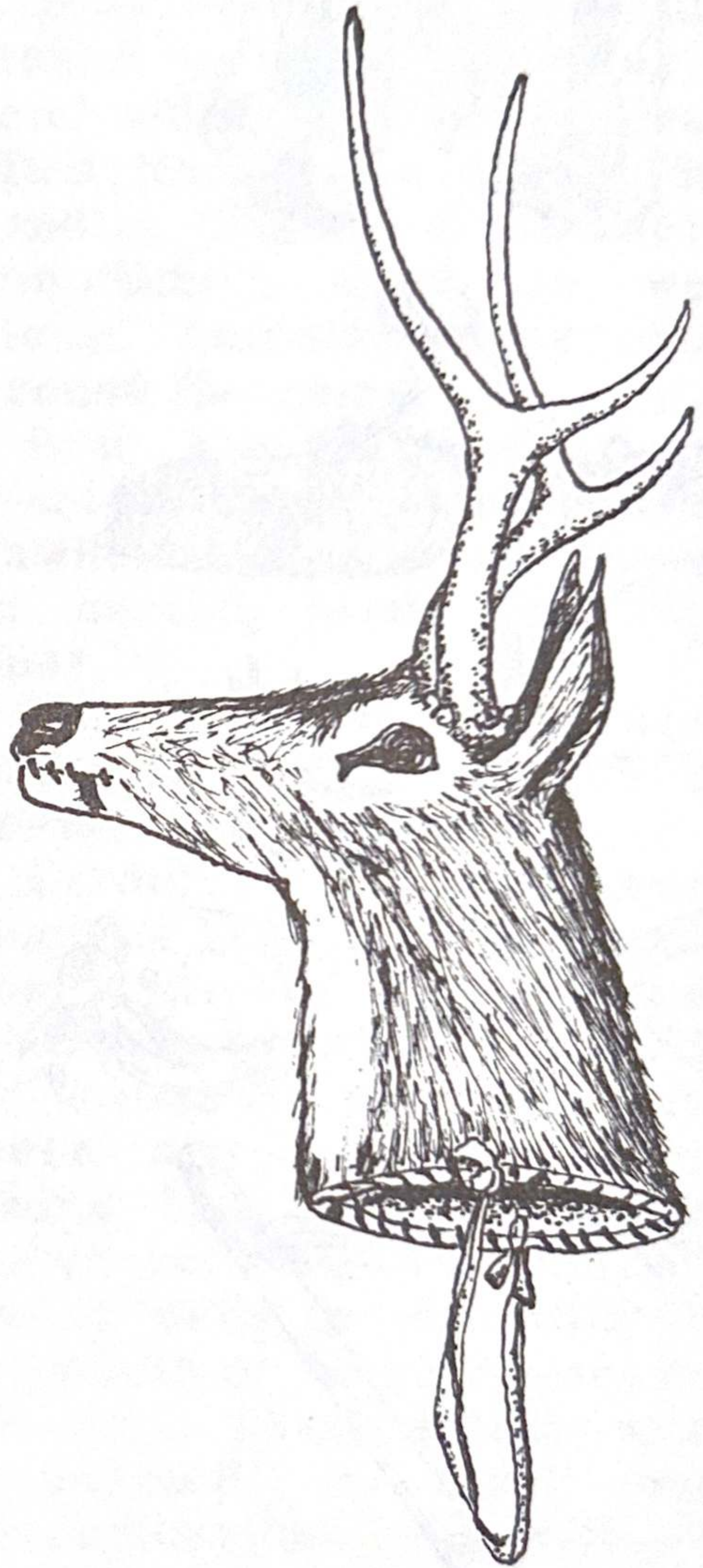
White Mountain saddle made of two rolls of grass-stuffed rawhide.

Rawhide horse shoes. White Mountain. Navajo rawhide hobble of type used by Apaches.

White Mountain quirt. Handle of sotol, cowhide whip, buckskin thong.

his own, and his wife could not get rid of them without his consent. Some men today might wish this were true when they come home from the office and find that their wives have cleaned out the closet and given their old clothes to the ragman.

On the other hand, a man could not give away all the plunder he had secured in a raid without being subject to criticism and ridicule both inside and outside his own family.



*Stalking head, antelope.
Stalking head, black tail deer.
White Mountain turkey decoy set in
buckskin base.*

Social Life



Chapter 7

TO UNDERSTAND Apache society, a grasp of the composition of the family and joint family is necessary. The term family as used here means a man and his wife and their children, living in one house or wickiup. Separate dwellings are the rule. Two married couples rarely if ever inhabit the same dwelling permanently.

Yet seldom does one see an Apache wickiup or house standing off all by itself. In pre-reservation days such a sight would have been even rarer. The Apaches were extremely gregarious. People just didn't live off by themselves, not even a whole family. People seldom traveled anywhere alone. It was

too dangerous. Women out gathering wild plant foods always went in parties, and men generally hunted in pairs or in groups. The methods of obtaining food invited cooperation between families.

In spite of this gregariousness, an Apache camp was never a large one. The basic Apache camp cluster was the matrilocal joint or extended family. As shown in Chapter 4, this was made up of one elderly couple or a single widowed older man or woman with their grown and married daughters living in adjacent dwellings, and occasionally a widowed relative or two. Generally an unmarried son lived with his par-

ents, but an adult unmarried son might occupy his own adjoining house.

Sons, grown and married, were no longer included in this joint family, as they normally resided near their wives' families. Matrilocal residence, however, was not always practiced. Through circumstances a married son sometimes brought his wife and children to reside with his parents rather than with his wife's family. Not uncommon was the presence of a son-in-law's widowed

parent and even the widowed parent of a daughter-in-law.

From 3 to 7 or 8 of these basic family households formed the joint family cluster. The size depended very often on the number of married daughters of the original couple. Gathered in these 3 to 7 or 8 houses would be from a dozen to 20 individuals.

This made up the average joint or extended family camp. Many camps were no larger than this. But often, through close clan (a term

Extended family. Coyote and family about 1913. Western Ways Photo by Rev. E. Edgar Guenther.



to be explained later) and other ties, several of these joint families lived in the same locality, perhaps around a farming site or a good area for gathering seeds.

The local group so formed was made up of from 2 to as high as 10 of these joint family clusters. Individual houses would number from 10 to 30, with one or two reported cases of 40 or 45. The population of such a village ranged from 30 to 100, with the average around 50 to 70.

Even when gathered more or less closely together in such a village, the joint family clusters still managed to retain their identities, the houses of each joint family being grouped together and set slightly apart from the others.

Each household within the family camp was a self-contained unit in that its members had their own separate wickiup, ate at one fire, and made most of the implements and utensils which they used. But, apart from this, most other activities were shared by two or three households or by the entire joint family cluster.

The joint family bulked large in the daily life of the individual. It was the center or focal point for such day to day enterprises as farming, hunting, and seed gathering. Several households would usually work a farm together

and share in the harvest. Hunting and gathering parties were organized among joint family members, and the joint family moved as a whole during the summer and fall seasons when wild crops were collected.

As one anthropologist has so eloquently stated, it is safe to say that an Apache spent most of his life in the company of his relatives.

Yet at the same time there was also a great deal of intercourse between the several joint families making up the local group. Certain activities required cooperation of more people than in the joint family. Raiding parties were generally composed of men from the entire local group, as were large-scale hunting drives. Ceremonies also involved the local group and frequently even the band or several bands.

People of the same local group felt bound together by territorial association, blood, marriage, and close friendship. These ties separated them from the members of other local groups.

Each local group was associated with a farming site or, if it did not farm, with some favorable valley or mountain location to which its members always returned. At this place there was longer continued residence than in any other area. Here were constructed the largest and most permanent

wickiups. Here were their closest ties.

Similar cultural and linguistic bonds held the still larger band and group together, differentiating them from the members of other groups. Each group had a name and thus any person was readily classified. An individual born a member of one group was always known as such, regardless of where he lived. A man might live for the greater part of his life within a group not his own, but he could never change his group identity. His neighbors would always regard him as a foreigner, an outsider.

Actually these differences between groups or bands were slight, being little more than dialectic variations similar to our northern and southern, or eastern and western speech, or slight variations in the manner of dress. Yet old Apaches, in looking at early photographs, can correctly identify the group to which individuals belonged by nothing more than the tilt of the headband.

Since an Apache spent so much of his time with his close kin, the manner in which he treated these relatives was important. This matter of kinship behavior is difficult for most of us to understand as, beyond our immediate family, we meet and talk with outsiders rather than with relatives. Once

a week, once a month, or even once a year do we get together with a number of other relatives.

Yet the average Apache had almost daily contact not only with his parents and brothers and sisters, but also with his grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins of all degrees of relationship, and various and sundry in-laws. His behavior, rights, privileges, obligations, even whom he might or might not marry were all dictated by kinship.

In addition to his close relationship in the joint family, every Western Apache also belonged to another organization known as the clan. The Chiricahua did not have clans, and any remarks made about clans concern only the Western Apache.

Every Western Apache was born into one clan, the clan of his mother. He remained a member of that clan as long as he lived no matter where he went or whom he married. The Western Apache commonly classified by clan rather than by family. If asked what kind of a person another was, a Western Apache would answer by giving the name of the clan to which that individual belonged.

In pre-reservation days there were 60 named clans among the 4,000 or so Western Apaches, with an average clan size of 65 to 70. Many

were larger than this, many smaller. These clans are closely linked with Navajo clans and also with those of certain of the Pueblo Indians. Just when and where the Western Apache got them is not known for sure. (Some anthropologists feel the Western Apache were originally Western Navajo.)

Western Apaches thought of the clan as that group of relatives which was descended from those ancestors who founded the clan's first agricultural site. The clan name usually referred to this legendary origin place.

Clan members formed a tight-knit group within which there was a bond of obligation almost as close as that of the family. Whether traceable or not, clan membership was considered blood relationship. Marriage was, therefore, prohibited between members of the same or related clans.

The clan's main functions were to regulate marriage, extend kinship relations beyond the family, control farming sites, control rights to ceremonials, and furnish the basis for war party organization.

Every member of an individual's clan or related clans was considered a relative—those in the same generation, brother or sister; in the first lower generation, nephew or niece; in the second lower generation, grandchild; in the

first higher generation, aunt or uncle; in the second higher generation, grandparent. A clan brother or uncle was accorded somewhat the same behavior as an actual blood brother or uncle.

Clans were not limited territorially. Clan membership crosscut the extended family, local group, band, and even the group. This widely scattered membership helped tie the various social units together.

To get back to Apache society, its strength lay in the joint family cluster. Directing the joint family was a head man, a subchief. The prestige of the joint family depended primarily on the wealth and power of the subchief and secondarily on the strength of its clan ties.

The closest relatives an individual had were his blood brothers and sisters. The children of the mother's brother or the father's sister were grouped as cross-cousins. The latter were called brothers and sisters and were treated in much the same manner as actual brothers and sisters.

Apache parents are proud and fond of their children. This is shown more in tolerance and interest than in lavish affection. Both male and female children are welcome. However, parents did not like a family of boys alone, as they felt the family line would die out. This is

similar to our feeling about the family name dying out when only daughters are born.

Apache children are usually obedient and well-behaved. Parents seldom if ever lose their temper with a child. Physical punishment is rarely seen, children usually being handled by threats. There are few spoiled children and no cry-babies, as crying children are ignored unless actually hurt.

Children's later interests were tied closer to the mother's side of the family due to matrilocal residence and automatic membership in the mother's clan.

Apache society differs from ours in many ways. For example, it supplied no place for bachelors and old maids. An adult male without a wife or an adult woman without a husband were to be pitied, even, in some cases, ridiculed. Failure to marry was very rare and considered abnormal, and was almost an economic impossibility.

In pre-reservation times the average age at marriage for girls was 15 to 18, for boys 20 to 25. Young men could not get married quite as early as girls because they first had to prove their ability to provide for a family by taking part in raids—at least four for the Chiricahua. Marriage to the Apaches was as much or more an economic arrange-

ment as it was a romantic affair.

Though marriage was usually arranged by the boy's parents, marriages which were the result of courtships were not uncommon. Unmarried girls were carefully guarded by relatives. Casual contact between the sexes was discouraged, and loose women were strongly disapproved. But there were ways for young people attracted to each other to meet, particularly at ceremonial dances.

Normally a representative of the young man's family approached the girl's relatives. When an agreement had been reached, a gift of from 2 to 6 horses, blankets, or guns was presented to the girl's family. In return the bride's family reciprocated with gifts, though these were never as numerous.

There was no marriage ritual or ceremony, despite what you have seen in movies or TV. As soon as a separate dwelling could be built next to that of the girl's parents, the couple moved in and began their married life without benefit of formality. For the first 2 or 3 months the bride did no cooking, bringing over food her mother had prepared.

The new husband had certain duties and obligations to his new relatives. He was expected to work for his parents-in-law, filling the

economic gap created by their own sons marrying and moving away.

At the same time total avoidance was in force between a man and his mother-in-law. They could not look at each other, or be in the same dwelling at the same time, or even speak directly to each other. This behavior pattern was supposed to show the deep respect the two had for each other. Difficulties arising from this avoidance practice have given rise to as many or more mother-in-law jokes as we ourselves have today.

To get around seeing each other, the two dwellings were usually so placed that the entrances were out of sight. When a woman knew her son-in-law was outside, she was careful to keep out of sight, and he did the same for her. A woman who accidentally met her son-in-law would throw her blanket over her head and turn away. The man would also face the other way and leave. A woman wishing to visit her daughter's house and knowing her son-in-law was at home would send word so that the man might leave.

With his father-in-law a man also maintained a relationship of marked respect. Though they might occasionally speak to each other in a reserved manner, the father-in-law frequently told his daughter what he wanted when he knew her

husband was within hearing.

These behavior patterns, including similar avoidance or respect shown others of the wife's relatives, were extremely important in Apache society and were strictly observed in almost all cases.

Most people have the mistaken idea the Indians lacked true affection. Most of the things we think show affection, as kissing, holding hands, embracing in public, dancing together, the use of endearing terms, the Apache considered either disgusting or improper. That does not mean there was no affection between man and wife. There was, but it was shown in ways other than public demonstrations.

In pre-reservation times and into the early reservation period some Apache men had more than one wife. Because the average man found it hard enough to support one wife, polygyny, the taking of plural wives, was almost entirely confined to wealthy individuals, chiefs or sub-chiefs. It was, therefore, not widely practiced, most men having only one wife. In the score of more of plural marriages recorded before 1880, most were with two or three women, one with four, and one with six.

Each of a man's wives and her children occupied a separate wickiup. Generally the man kept his personal be-

longings in the first wife's dwelling, and the first wife was recognized as the female leader of the camp, directing the work of the other women.

Formerly divorce was simple. Jealousy on the part of husband or wife, incompatibility, or failure of either to fulfill his duties of family life were the principal causes of divorce. If a man wanted to divorce his wife, he might tell her he was going hunting and then not return. A woman, wanting to leave her husband, might go to the home of her parents while her husband was away and remain there until he had come back and left again. Or, since the woman owned the house and could not be forced out by her husband, she sometimes stacked his personal belongings outside under a tree. When the man came back and saw his saddle and other things outside, he knew what that meant. Sometimes, to get rid of an unwelcome husband, a woman created an excuse by nagging him until he beat her, giving her good reason to leave him.

Either could remarry immediately. As in the case of widows and widowers, a single young adult did not fit into the social and economic pattern of society.

The husband of an unfaithful wife was expected to take

some action. He might whip her or he might cut off the tip of her nose or he might even kill her. If he found the guilty man, he might kill him also. A woman frequently sent an unfaithful husband away.

The Apache attitude toward death was one of fear and horror. They believed in a land of the dead where life went on as it did on earth. The danger of revisitation by the ghosts of the departed was a real one to the Apaches.

The dead person was buried in the ground, laid out full

Apache woman with nose partly cut off. Rose Collection, courtesy University of Oklahoma.



length, or in a crevice in the rock. The wickiup, household utensils, and clothing of the deceased were burned in order that they be forgotten and to prevent contamination from them. The site where the death occurred was quickly abandoned and a move made to a new location. Usually these moves were never very far, often merely from one side of a field to the other.

There was usually a period of mourning and purification rites. Married women cut their hair as a sign of mourning. The name of the dead person was taboo and no longer mentioned.

The death of an aged person was not accorded the rites and mourning period of a younger individual. The death of an elderly man or woman was less of an economic loss than that of a still active person. An old person not able to ride or walk was occasionally abandoned when it came time for the family to move. The relatives put a supply of food and water in the dwelling and departed, never to come back. This may seem cruel, and yet the Apache had to move to live and, with their methods of transportation, they could not carry a helpless individual along with them.

Wealth was gauged in terms of property—horses and cattle a man secured in raids, the meat and hides and food supplies stored away. Being rich entailed a responsibility toward the poor. A rich man was supposed to be generous with his wealth.

Bravery did not have the same connotation we give it. To be brave meant not to be afraid of anything but at the same time to possess the judgment to look out for oneself in any situation. The man who blindly ran into trouble, without fear, was a fool, not a brave man.

The Apache valued speed, endurance, and wiriness more highly than brute strength.

To tell a deliberate lie was to the Apache to commit a sin.

Apache women enjoyed a position in society far greater than would be supposed. She could and did own property and had a voice in family affairs. Even in local group councils she was frequently consulted. Through her line family descent was traced. She could and often did become a shaman or medicine woman. Victorio's sister, Lozen, was actually a warrior, and greatly admired by her people.

Government and Law



Chapter 8

NEITHER THE Chiricahua nor the Western Apache had a distinct tribal name, a tribal chief, a tribal council, a tribal government of any kind.

As has been pointed out in previous chapters, the local group was the basic social, economic, and military body. This was the largest unit that had a definite leader. There was no organized leadership for the entire band, let alone for the whole tribe.

The local group leader or chief had considerable power and influence within his own group. He decided when it was time to return to the farming site, when it was time to plant and harvest. He

organized food gathering trips and other economic enterprises. He said when to send out raiding parties, when to put on one of the big ceremonials.

However, a chief's authority was based mainly on influence, not absolute right. His position was that of an adviser, a councilor. His methods of control were limited in comparison to ours today. He was obeyed only as long as his directions were effective. Occasionally a family would be dissatisfied with a chief's orders and would leave and join another local group. Occasionally also a chief would banish a family who did not obey his commands. A mild but ef-

fective method of punishment was for a chief to ignore the offender socially, this in itself being enough to drive a man out of the group.

A chief who had a reputation for success in hunting and raiding and for good leadership attracted families from other, less prosperous groups. This was particularly true for the Western Apache where the local group chief was also the clan chief of his own clan.

Among the Western Apache, chieftainship of all the large local groups was hereditary, remaining within the clan. It was limited, therefore, to maternal relatives of the preceding chief. The most common forms of such inheritance were a blood

brother of the old chief, a son of the mother's sister, or a sister's son. This allowed a rather wide field of choice.

Among the Chiricahua, chieftainship of the local group was not necessarily hereditary. The leader was a man distinguished as an outstanding warrior and hunter. Although family origin did not always determine a man's political rank, normally the leader came from the wellborn and wealthy. Yet his right to the position had to be backed up by achievement and effort. At the same time it was expected that a leader's son or a close relative would succeed the chief.

A chief's dwelling was generally larger than those of

Geronimo and Naiche, 1886. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew



Mangus. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.



other people. His social position entitled him to respect from his people as well as from those outside the local group. Farm work and camp work on raiding and war parties were now beneath his dignity. The chief who led a raiding party always received the largest share of booty. A warrior might receive 3 head of stolen stock, a subchief 9 or 10, and the leader 15 or 20.

A strong chief known for his wisdom and generosity was frequently consulted by people from other groups. Diablo, for example, in pre-reservation days was head chief of Clan 20 in the Eastern White Mountain band. He was also chief of the larg-

est local group in that band. Because he was considered the most powerful Western Apache chief of that time, A.D. 1850-1870, Diablo was often asked for advice by outsiders. In several instances other family groups even sought refuge with him from enemy clans. With him was another head chief of Clan 1 who preferred to live with Diablo as second in command rather than head his own local group.

Whenever the several local groups in a band joined together for a special purpose, as warfare or raiding, the most dominating of the local group chiefs headed the combined band. This was particularly true for the Chi-

Bonito, 1883. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.



Casadora and wife, San Carlos Apaches, 1886. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew.



ricahua. Among the Central Chiricahua all local groups looked to Cochise as their leader. Yet sometimes two different local groups would consider its own chief superior, as in the Eastern Chiricahua, where both Victorio and Nana had their followers.

A head chief remained in office as long as he was physically and mentally fit. A new chief was chosen by a meeting of the influential members of the local group. Often the election of a new chief was the occasion for a ceremony, including the singing of songs, ritual, and feasting. The new chief, if young, usually went through a period of training by an older man.

Under the head chief were a number of subchiefs. These were the heads of joint or extended families and were called rich men or strong men. Not all family heads were subchiefs. Families varied in status and wealth. Only the most influential attained the rank of subchief.

The position of subchief was not hereditary or elective. Individuals gained the title through their own success in hunting and warfare, through wisdom in speech, through generosity, and through strong backing of relatives.

The authority of subchief was restricted to their own local groups and mainly within their own family clus-

ter. They talked to the people, advising them how to live and take care of their families. They organized hunting and food gathering trips and often led war parties. Subchiefs as well as chiefs took pride in their ability to make speeches. Some seldom let an opportunity pass to exhibit their oratorical ability.

The number of subchiefs in each local group varied according to the size and power of the particular group.

Often the wives of chiefs and subchiefs were known as women chiefs or rich or strong women. These head women influenced the other women within the local group. They coordinated the activities of the women, organized food gathering parties, and encouraged the women by the setting of good examples in the storage of food and the making of household utensils.

The wives of headmen were almost as important and had almost as much authority as their husbands. Women chiefs sometimes spoke at war dances to encourage the men. Occasionally they spoke at chiefs' councils.

In most local groups there were also one or two subchiefs known as war leaders or war chiefs. They were men who were good fighters and had special war powers. These war leaders organized

and directed the rituals and ceremonies connected with war parties.

Thus, in any local group there were apt to be several different types of chiefs—head men or true chiefs, sub-chiefs, women chiefs, and war chiefs.

Crime was not unknown in Apache society. Crimes included theft, the willful destruction of property, injury to others, either accidental or intentional, trespass upon farming lands, incest, rape, murder, and witchcraft. Each of these was settled in its own way.

Theft was uncommon. It was said that only the poor stole. What little did take place was usually of a woman stealing corn from another's food cache or from another woman's field. These were considered women's quarrels and left to them to settle, generally by the return of the stolen food.

Occasionally a horse or cow was stolen. If the affair could not be settled, a sub-chief or other influential man was asked to arbitrate the dispute.

Damage to farm crops by stock breaking into fields was settled according to a recognized code. Upon payment of a blanket or buckskin or something of like value the owner received the animal back. In rare cases an influential man was called in to settle the matter.

Accidental injuries caused by shooting or by being kicked by another's horse could be atoned for by payment of a buckskin, blanket, or quiver. For accidentally-caused deaths the payment demanded was higher.

Intentional injury, such as might occur in a fight, could also be settled by payment to avoid retaliation. The immediate relatives of those concerned would talk it over and agree on the compensation.

Murder was not uncommon in pre-reservation days. Most of the killings were the result of arguments during or following drinking parties. When the Apache fought he usually fought to kill, and frequently did. Murder could be settled by payment, thus avoiding a blood feud. These payments varied according to the social status of the victim, a wealthy or influential man bringing a higher compensation than a poor man. Payment was made by the maternal kinsmen of the murderer and goods were piled up before the offended family until the amount was sufficient. Sometimes the payment was burned on the spot, sometimes it was taken home and used. If any horses which were given as part payment were killed, their meat was eaten.

In rare instances, when a murder was so brutal and inexcusable that even the

killer's relatives couldn't condone it, they gave him to the victim's family to kill on sight. This avoided revenge being taken on the other relatives. Even in these cases payment still had to be made to the murdered man's family.

In some cases, when compensation failed, a blood feud was begun. Often such feuds lasted for years, with first a killing on one side and then one on the other.

Contrary to popular belief unmarried Apache young men and women were brought up under a strict code, more rigid than our own. Contact between the sexes was discouraged.

Unwelcome male attentions, even as slight as laying a hand on a woman's shoulder or foot, were offenses which could lead to trouble. If the woman complained to her parents or close relatives, payment could be demanded or the relatives might destroy property of the offender, slashing a buckskin to pieces or killing a horse. The culprit, knowing himself to be in the wrong, had to submit to this.

Such minor incidents as these and on up through varying degrees of intimacy to rape could be atoned for by payment. If the victim of a rape became pregnant, her parents usually insisted on the guilty man marrying her.

This custom of compensa-

tion for injuries to the opposite sex was so well established that it was occasionally taken advantage of in ways similar to our own so-called "badger" game. Young divorced women would sometimes lead a man into committing such familiarities. She then would complain to her family about his unwarranted advances. The women's relatives, as dishonest as she, would kill the man's horse and use the meat. The dupe submitted meekly rather than have other people find out how he had been taken in. This practice tended to make a young man think twice before he made an advance.

Two major crimes, incest and witchcraft, were closely linked in Apache culture. Witches were thought to practice incest and therefore persons caught in incest were considered witches. Witchcraft was believed to cause illness and even death. Witches were feared and shunned. These two offenses were almost the only cases actually tried by a chief. The usual punishment was banishment or death.

The basis for the Apache code of law was expressed in Apache terms as "getting even." Thus, you got even for an injury or murder by being paid or by killing a member of the offender's family.

Religion and Ceremonies



Chapter 9

THE APACHE Indian was and still is a deeply religious individual. He believed in a supreme being, a giver of life, and a host of other supernatural beings, with the sun and the moon and the winds playing important roles. He had an elaborate mythology telling of his origin, his culture heroes, his gods. He carried with him various charms and fetishes and sacred pollen. Medicine men or shamans were powerful and important personages. He had a ceremony for almost everything, at least 40 of them, from curing disease to finding lost objects.

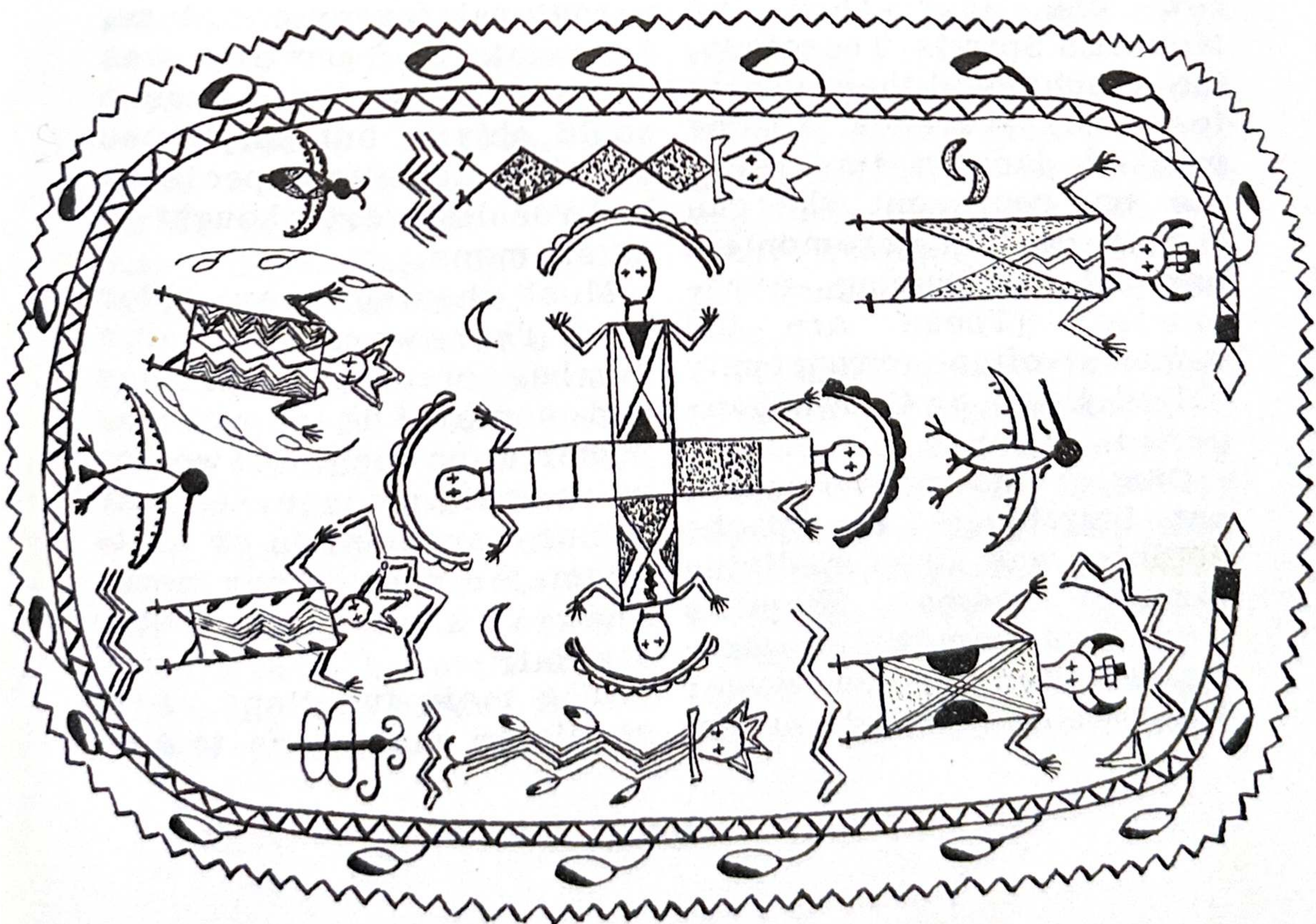
Apache mythology credited Life Giver with the creation

of the universe but does not go into details. Western Apache myths mention a legendary place to the north where they lived long ago with the Navajo, Hopi, and Zuni. The Thunder People, according to these myths, send lightning to earth. Other important culture heroes who brought the Apache his lore and learning were White Painted Woman, Child of the Water, and Killer of Enemies or Slayer of Monsters. There were two kinds of water beings. One, a good supernatural, was called Controller of Water; the other, Water Monster, was held responsible for drownings.

Another series of tales dealt with Coyote, a trick-



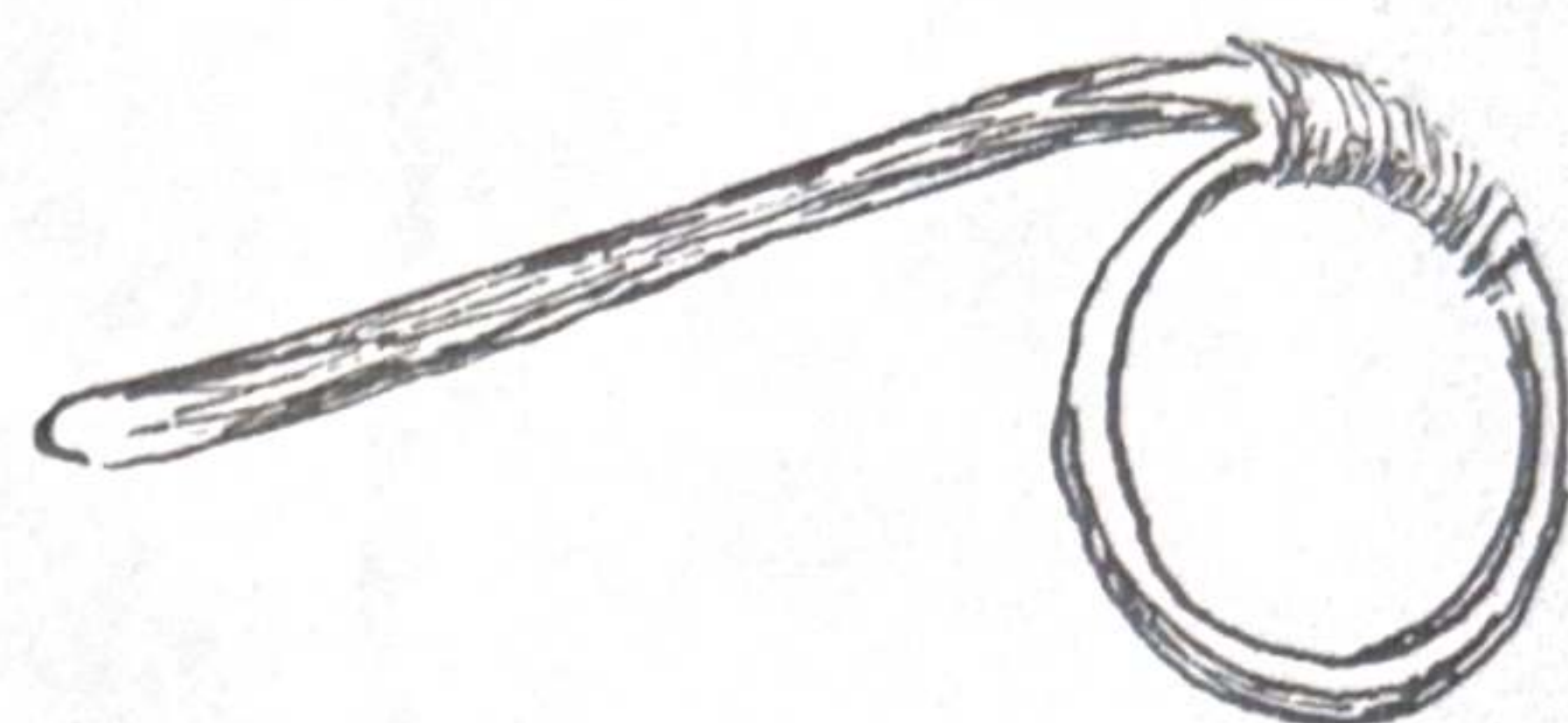
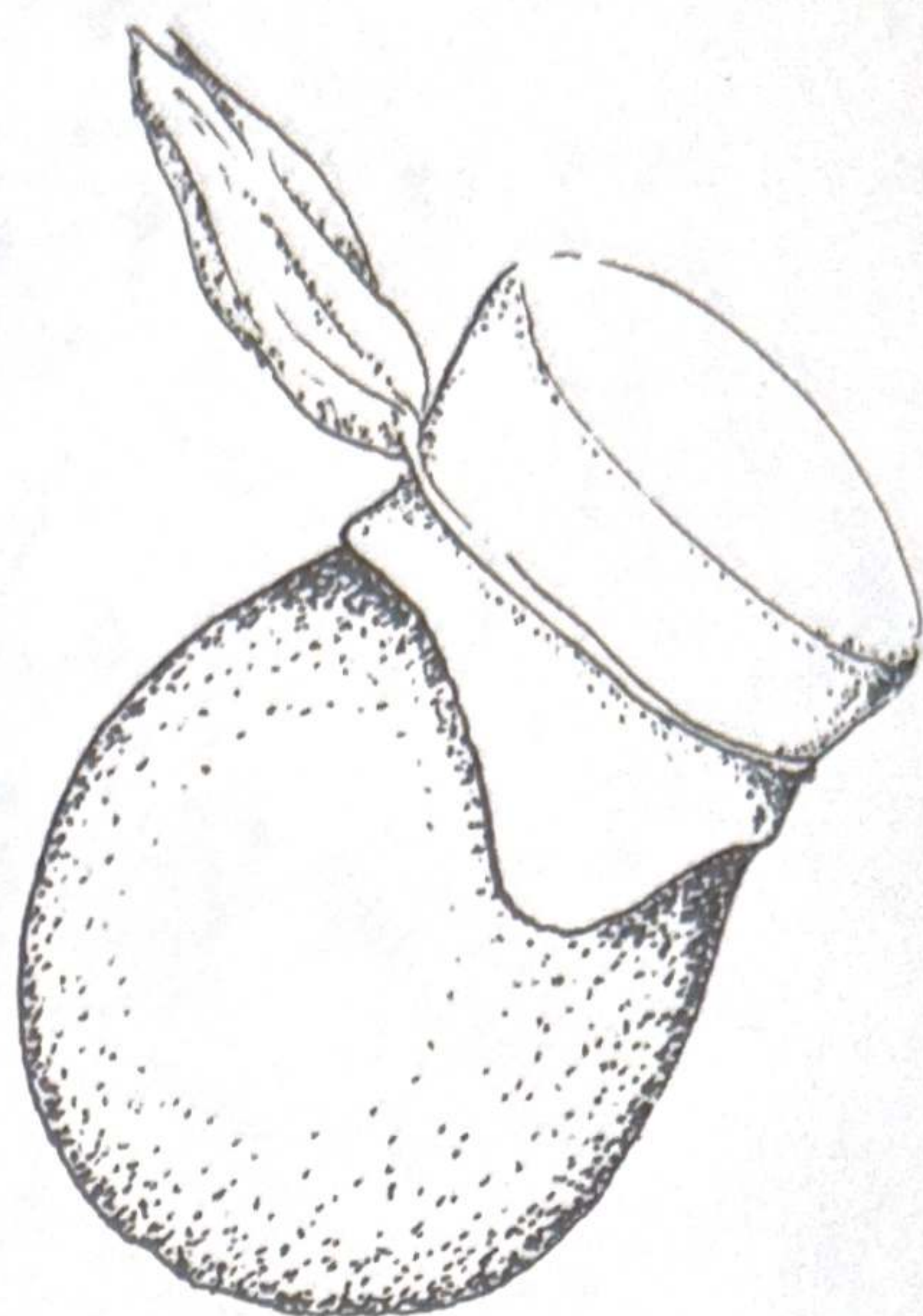
Above, Pesh-Coo, Apache medicine man. 1885. Rose Collection, courtesy Ed Bartholomew. Below, ceremonial buckskin.



ster, who was considered responsible for most of man's troubles, including lying, theft, adultery, incest, and death. Such stories were often told the young people to teach moral lessons.

An important series of myths told about the Mountain People, supernatural beings believed to inhabit the interiors of certain mountains. In ancient times these Mountain People lived on the earth as people. Because of sickness and death, they left to search for a place of eternal life. According to White Mountain Apache mythology the Mountain Spirits or gan (rhymes with John) brought agriculture to them. These gans were thought to have power over human beings, either to help them or to harm them, according to how one approached the Mountain Spirits. Therefore, the Apache held them in both fear and reverence. Apache masked dancers impersonate or represent the gan during certain ceremonies, particularly curing ceremonies. (These are the dancers often erroneously called Devil or Crown Dancers.)

One of the most important individuals in Apache society was the medicine man or shaman. Shamans were men, sometimes women, who had received power from a supernatural source,



Pottery drum with head of buckskin. Drumstick is a bent twig fastened with sinew.

giving them strength beyond their own resources. The mediums through which shamans acquired their power were birds, animals, snakes, insects, and personified supernatural forces of nature. Supernatural power was something every Apache could obtain, but only those who had achieved spectacular results were thought of as shamans.

Most shamans were older men. There were, however, a number of women shamans and some of them were as powerful as men. Yet women were mainly concerned with minor ceremonials or parts of major ones. They never knew a whole major ceremonial.

The main functions of the medicine man were to cure

disease, to ward off evil and sickness, to prophesy about future events, and to insure success in hunting, in war, in raids, in love, and in any other endeavor. The shaman was thus both a religious figure and a doctor. He performed his work through ceremonies involving songs, prayers, sacred objects, and ritual. He received payment for his services, as otherwise it would be a sign of disrespect to the supernatural power behind the shaman.

Types of medicine men varied. Those who had certain powers had the most prestige, particularly those who could conduct large public ceremonies.

However, most of the ceremonies performed by shamans were for the curing of disease. Though some ailments were treated without recourse to ritual, most illnesses were blamed on some evil force or person. For these a medicine man was called in, the kind of shaman depending upon the nature of the disease.

For a snake bite or a serious skin disease, a shaman who knew the snake ceremony would be summoned, because all skin ailments were associated with the snake which sheds its skin. For a fall from a horse, a shaman who knew the horse ceremony was hired, and for coyote sickness, a shaman

who knew the coyote ceremony. There were shamans and ceremonies for fox sickness, for owl sickness, for ghost sickness, for bear sickness, for gopher sickness, for water beetle sickness, for lightning sickness, and for a host of other sicknesses.

Witches were considered to have supernatural power also, but evil power rather than the good that shamans had. Nearly all ills and disasters were attributed to the work of witches or evil sorcerers.

When a patient died or did not immediately recover, the shaman's reputation did not necessarily suffer. Such failures could be blamed on the shaman not having been called soon enough or to the patient's carelessness in following the shaman's taboos or to the power of an opposing witch.

Sometimes when a shaman did not do the sick man any good, the failure was blamed on faulty diagnosis and another shaman called in to perform a different ceremony.

Though curing rites followed a general pattern, no two were exactly alike. Many curing ceremonies lasted for four days and involved songs, masked dancers, and sand paintings. Every shaman had certain sacred paraphernalia of his own. Such ritual objects included hoddentin-

tule (cattail)-pollen, paints, herbs, eagle feathers, quartz crystals, red ocher, and a drum. Some medicine men wore a cap of buckskin decorated with eagle or raven feathers and turquoise.

Usually the shaman smoked a ceremonial cigarette and puffed smoke to the four directions, beginning with the east and proceeding clockwise. Sometimes he also placed sacred pollen to the four directions. Singing and praying were regular features of curing ceremonies, often accompanied by music on a pottery drum or an eagle claw rattle. The shaman's ritual objects were believed to contain power and were applied to the patient to draw out sickness. A lightning or snake shaman sometimes made a painted buckskin which was given to the patient to ward off further evil.

Use of color in a curing or other ceremony followed a regular directional pattern, black for the east, blue for the south, yellow for the west, and white for the north. (This is an attenuated version of the color-direction symbolism which characterizes Indian religions from the Southwest and down through Mexico.)

At the conclusion of a curing ceremony, the shaman almost invariably imposed a food or behavior taboo upon the patient. Frequently he

gave the patient a curative or protective amulet to wear.

Before a curing ceremony could begin, ceremonial gifts had to be given to the shaman to insure the cooperation of his power. These offerings were generally four in number and varied according to the ceremony being performed. Such gifts commonly were turquoise, eagle feathers, abalone shell, pollen, buckskin, obsidian, flint blades, or tobacco. At the conclusion of the ceremony the shaman received his payment for his services.

Outstanding shamans commanded respect similar to that given chiefs. Because of their control over social, economic, and religious events they had an even stronger influence than chiefs. People listened to what they had to say on any subject. Families frequently moved from one group to another just to be near a good shaman who could be depended on in times of evil or illness.

Some curing rituals were held for the entire community in time of epidemics to ward off the disease from all the people.

In addition to curing rites, supernatural power was thought to bring success in everything from war and raid to love and gambling games. The services of shamans were also sought to locate lost persons, to find lost or



Applying body
paint for Mountain
Spirits Dance,
San Carlos, Ariz.
Western Ways
Photo by
Herbert.



Gan dancers
in costume.
Western Ways
Photos by
Herbert.



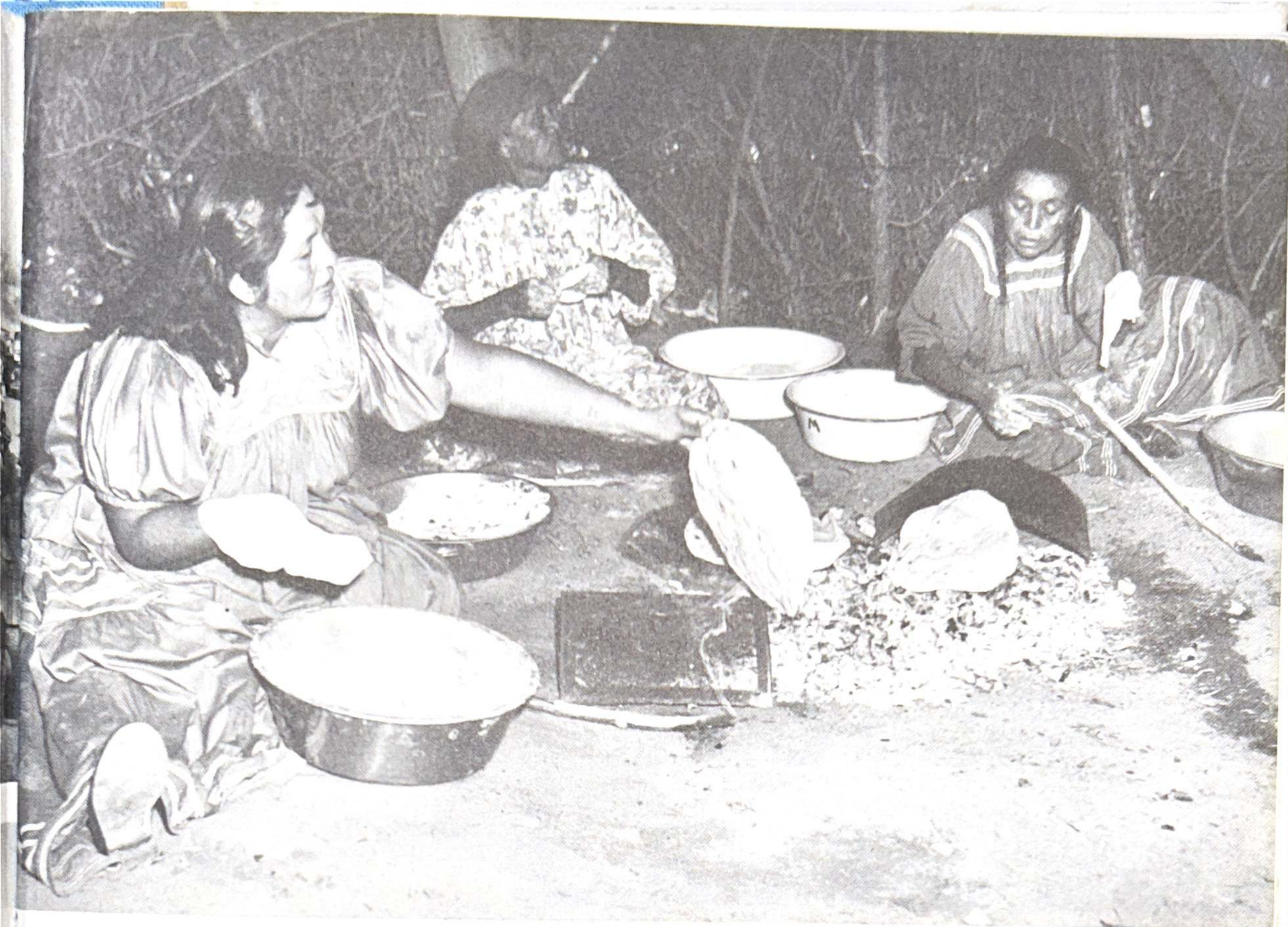
Gan Dance
in progress
showing four
dancers and
"clown" leading.
Western Ways
Photos by
Peter Balestrero.

*Sunrise dance
San Carlos
puberty ceremony,
Western Ways
Photo by
Herbert.*



*Betty Bones,
Apache maiden
in traditional
costume. Western
Ways photo
by Herbert.*





Above, making tortillas to feed the crowd. Below, singing throughout the night. A metal can has replaced the pottery drum vessel. Western Ways photos by Herbert.





*Left, Maidens
standing under
ceremonial tipi.*

*Below, spreading blankets in
preparation for
kneading ceremony.
Western Ways
photos by Herbert.*



hidden objects, and to control the weather and other natural events.

Apaches took sweat baths to cure certain illnesses, as well as for reasons of cleanliness. The sweat lodge was a dome-shaped framework of poles bent over and tied, with a covering of blankets. It was big enough for only three or four men. Rocks were heated and put inside and water thrown on them, making steam. Women were barred from the sweat bath.

Among the Western Apache there was a strong emphasis on agriculture in their ceremonies. Many minor rituals

accompanied the planting and growing and harvesting of crops. Curing rites were also believed to be of benefit to the crops as well as to the individual himself. During the summer, in May, June, and early July, a lightning ceremony was performed at night by two boys and two girls, or four of each, who danced with hoops or crossed poles. This ritual was supposed to bring rain for the crops.

All large ceremonies, and sometimes marriages were accompanied by all-night social dances at which the people of the local group or

Preparing hole with a digging stick for deposition of ritual objects. Western Ways photos by Herbert.



several local groups got together for feasting and dancing.

One of the most important events in the life of an Apache girl was the four-day puberty ceremony that took place at her coming of age. This was one of the central ceremonies of the Apache. In addition to its ritual significance, it was also an important social event, a period of dancing, singing, feasting, and drinking.

White Painted Woman was said to have established the

puberty rite long, long ago. The girl going through the ceremony was even identified with White Painted Woman and called by that name during the four days of the ritual.

The preparations for the coming-out ceremony frequently began months ahead of time. The girl's family had to collect the huge store of food and equipment necessary to put on the ceremony. All who attended had to be fed. Gifts had to be given to the medicine man who put on

Maiden and her sponsor on the final morning. Western Ways Photos by Peter Balestrero.



the ceremony and to those who assisted in the ceremony.

This was and still is one of the most colorful and dramatic of Apache ceremonials. One of the highlights was the appearance of the gans, the masked dancers, representing the Mountain Spirits. The four dancers had high, painted headdresses and white painted bodies and were accompanied by a masked clown. Other features included a molding ceremony, rubbing the girl by an attendant, and a "tipi" ceremony on the fourth and final morning.

Before the ceremony the girl was still a girl. After it she was a woman ready for marriage. The ceremony was to give health and long life to the girl. All those attending the ceremony shared in the girl's blessing. The rite also was a prayer for increased fertility in both crops and animals.

Most ceremonies had one or more taboos attached to them, such as a food or behavior taboo, the use of a drinking tube to avoid touching water with the lips, or the use of a scratching stick instead of the fingernails. Such taboos are numerous,

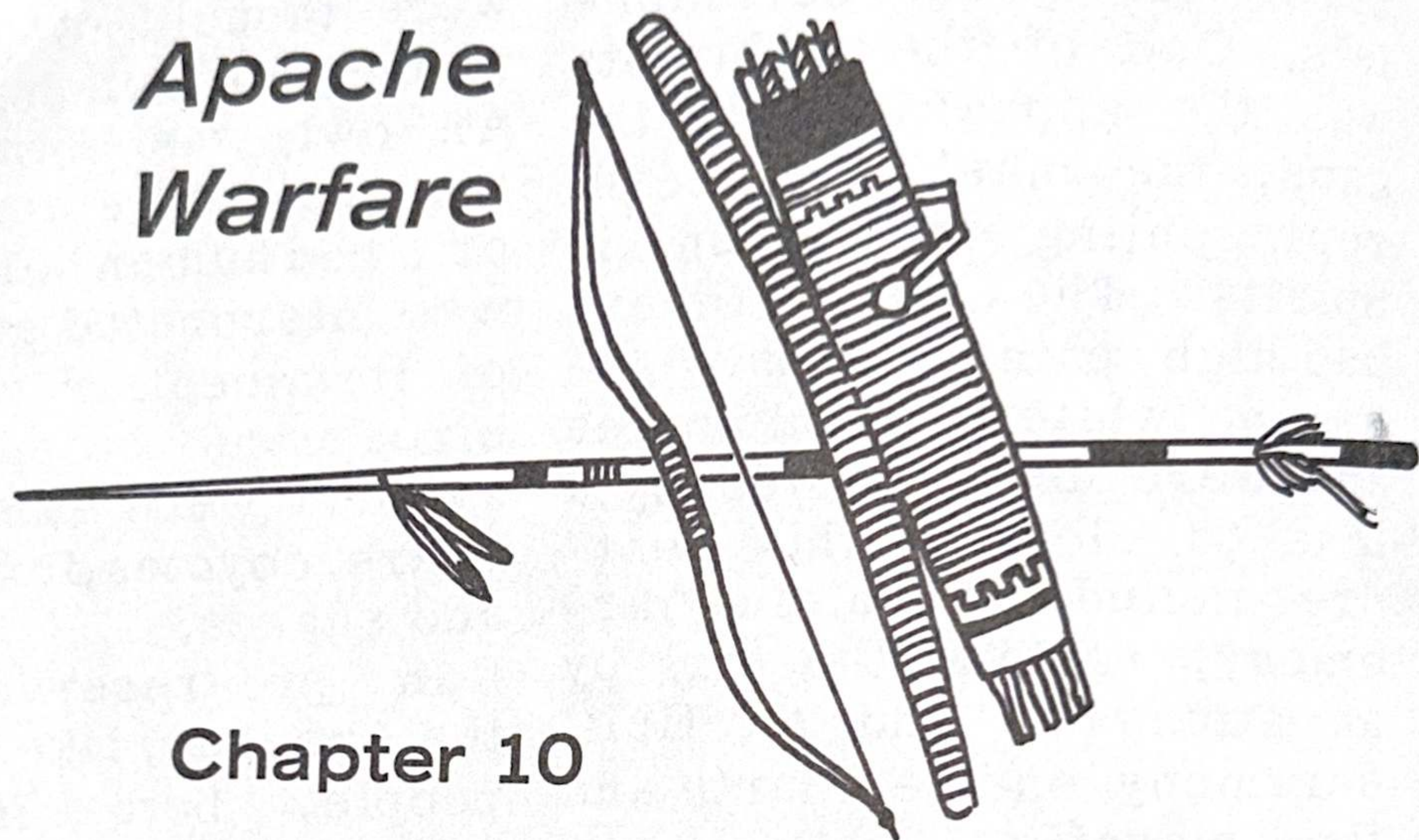
including the widespread taboo against the eating of fish.

Superstition was also strong among the Apaches. A number of birds and animals were thought of as possible sources of evil influences. An owl was believed to be the ghost of a dead relative or a bad human being; its hoot was interpreted as a warning of imminent trouble. Other birds and animals to be avoided were bats, gophers, bears, coyotes, foxes, wolves, and snakes.

In pre-reservation days the Apaches, like many other people, both Indian and white, were great gamblers. Most of the games of chance and skill they played involved some ceremonialism. The principal games were a hidden ball game, a hoop and pole game, and a three-stick dice game. Women were not allowed to watch the hoop and pole game. Cards were also acquired early through Spanish and Mexican sources.

Smoking was also a part of many ceremonies. Since tobacco was scarce prior to the coming of the white man, most of it being gathered wild, smoking was considered a great luxury when used on a purely social occasion.

Apache Warfare



Chapter 10

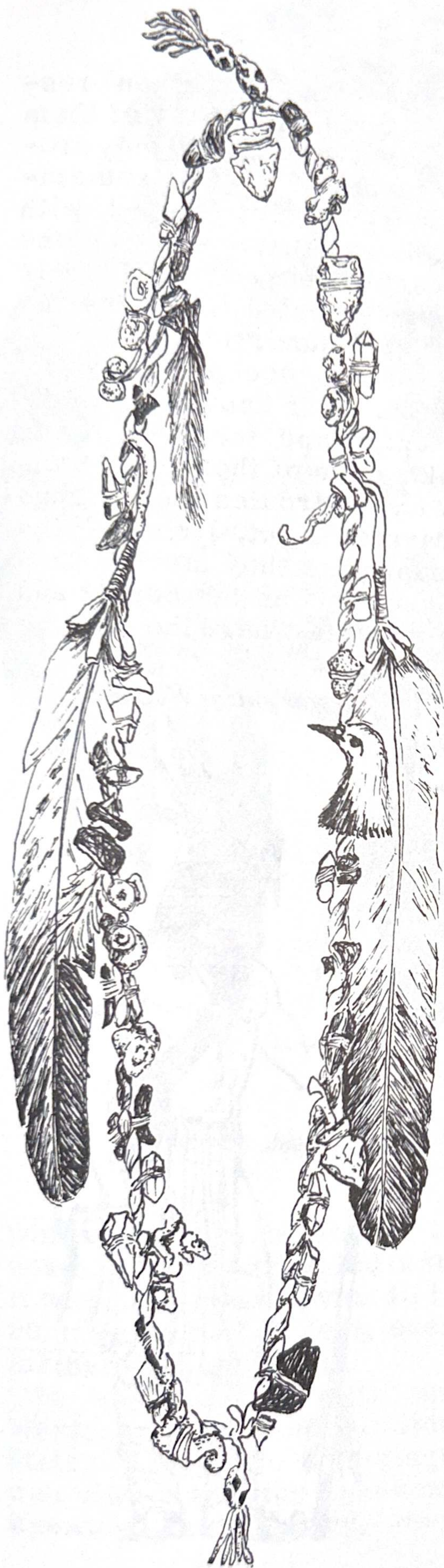
IT IS HARD to separate Apache warfare from Apache raids. The primary difference seems to have been that the raid had as its only objective the gathering of horses, cattle, food, and clothing. Any fighting that took place was purely accidental. With warfare, fighting was the chief objective. Yet even war parties brought back what plunder they could lay their hands on.

Raiding, particularly to the Chiricahua, rivaled hunting in its economic importance to the local group. To the Apache it was either raid or starve. When food supplies ran low, out would go a raiding party. Though many warriors and chiefs achieved

glory and a high status through participation in successful raids, these attainments were only incidental to the securing of booty.

Most raiding parties were small, formed from as few as 5 or 6 men up to as high as 10 or 12. There was little or no ceremony connected with raiding, though it was usually thought desirable to have an individual who had war power along. They took very little with them, living off the country on the way there and off their plunder on the trip back. They were careful to avoid being seen both going and coming.

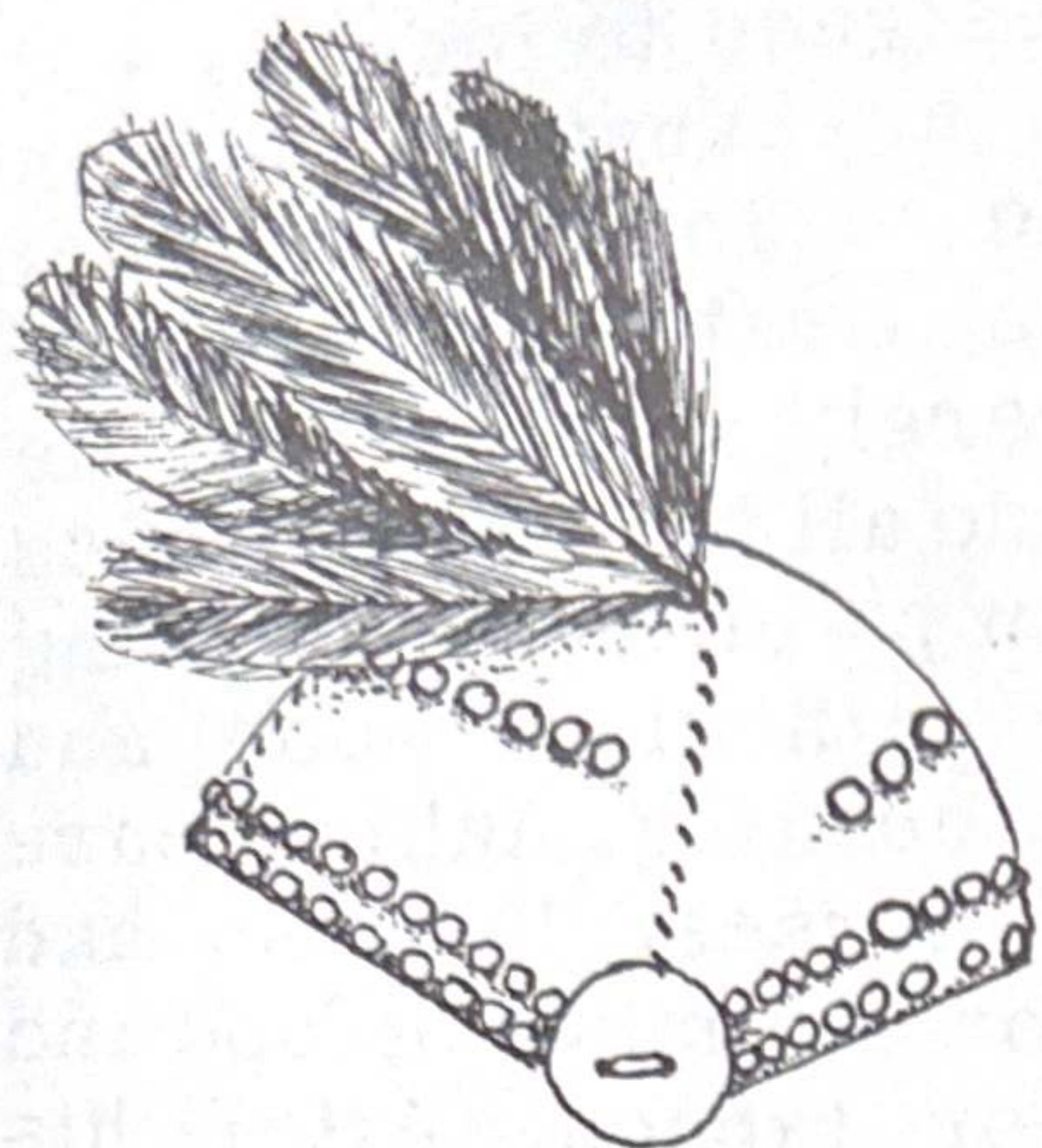
Raids were used as training grounds for boys. After a strenuous round of activi-



ties designed to toughen and harden a youngster, he was allowed to go on a raid. But for his first four raids he was merely an observer. He had to do all the odds and ends of camp chores, building fires, gathering wood and water, cooking, taking care of the horses. He also had to follow a number of food and behavior taboos. After his fourth raid he was considered a warrior and could take part in raids and warfare.

Unlike raids, warfare was always accompanied by a great deal of ceremony. The Apache man was never more religious than when preparing for war. There was a war dance before leaving to enlist the aid of the supernatural spirits and a victory dance upon return. One or more medicine men who had war power usually went along with a large war party. Each warrior carried a small bag which contained a sacred meal for morning and evening sacrifice. Many carried protective amulets such as quartz crystals, pieces of petrified wood, sandstone

White Mountain war necklace worn over right shoulder and under left arm as a charm to ward off enemy blows, and for good luck at home. Decorated with quartz crystals, chalcedony, obsidian, projectile points, red beans, feathers, and a yellow bird's head.



White Mountain buckskin war cap ornamented with eagle feathers and silver buttons.

concretions, or galena. Some wore buckskin shirts with painted designs believed to protect the wearer. Others wore protective buckskin hats. Most also carried more practical items, such as buckskin awl cases with sinew and rawhide to repair worn-out moccasins and tweezers to pluck beard hairs. One or two would have a firedrill kit in their quiver case.

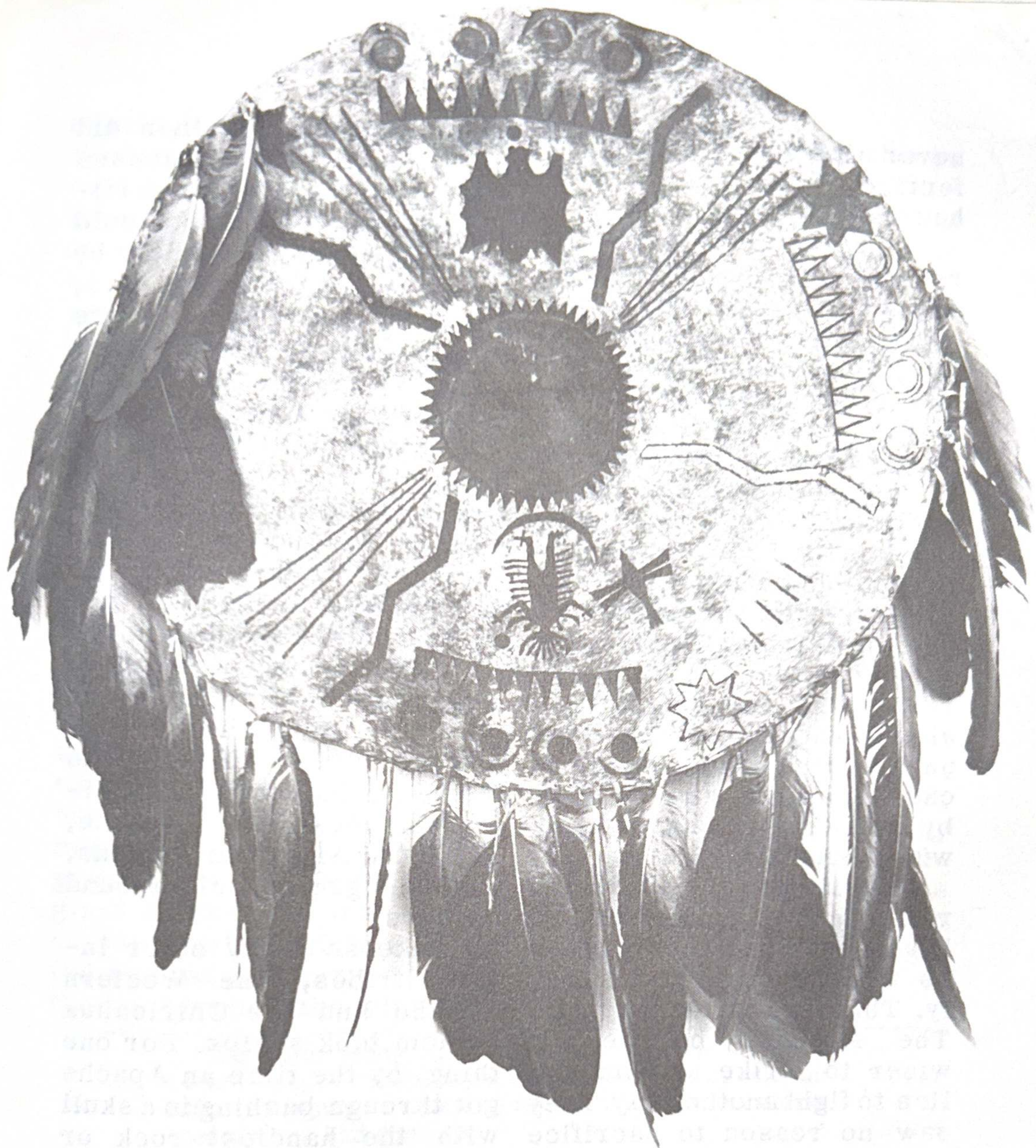
Most of the Apaches were armed only with bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and knives. As late as the 1850's those were their chief weapons. Though they had long known about guns and had acquired many through trade or by more direct action, these often became useless through breakage or through lack of ammunition. Not having the means nor the knowledge to repair them, the Apaches put the broken parts to use as spears or knives. Not until the 1870's, when

they were placed on reservations and many of them became scouts, did they procure plenty of guns and ammunition. Yet armed with such primitive weapons the Apaches more than held their own against all comers for several hundred years.

Apache success in war was due to their knowledge of the country and their ability to take care of themselves under any circumstances. They traveled light, living off the country as they moved. They found food in the desert and mountains where the average

Warm Springs Warrior.





Apache shield. Western Ways photo by Herbert.

white man would starve to death. And they traveled fast. It was nothing to cover 40 to 50 miles a day on foot, even further on horseback.

In any contest with the Mexicans or the United States Army the advantage was always with the Apaches. Knowing the country, they

would try to pick the battle site that best suited them, either a deep canyon or a rocky pass. They rarely engaged in open combat, relying on ambush or surprise rather than on force of numbers. Numbers were something which the Apaches seldom had. The Apaches

never attacked at night, preferring the early morning hours at daybreak.

They were adept hit-and-run fighters. They raided and slipped swiftly and silently away into the desert high country's cacti and rocks like so many ghosts. If they were closely pursued by superior forces, they scattered in a dozen different directions like a flock of quail, leaving little or no trail to follow. Perhaps hours or even days later they would gather together again at a predetermined spot 50 to 100 miles away. And they always had selected an alternative rendezvous point in case the first was occupied by an enemy force, or otherwise unsuitable.

Such tactics have been the reason why many writers have described the Apaches as treacherous and cowardly. This is far from the truth. The Apaches believed it wiser to strike and run and live to fight another day. They saw no reason to sacrifice lives needlessly. This practice of avoiding open conflict when they were badly outnumbered or when the terrain was against them postponed for many years their eventual defeat.

By and large the Apaches suffered far fewer casualties than did their enemies. More Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans lost their lives during the 17th, 18th,

and 19th centuries than did the Apache. Yet the losses the Apache suffered, particularly the Chiricahua, could not be borne indefinitely by such small tribes. By 1886, when the Chiricahuas were finally rounded up and shipped off to Florida, their numbers had been cut in half.

In spite of this lack of numbers, the Apaches were not equalled in fighting efficiency and savagery. For cunning, for ferocity, for daring, for endurance, for pure, unadulterated gall, you have to hand the blue ribbon to the Apaches.

In the opinion of numerous army officers who fought against them, the Chiricahua and Western Apache, of all the American Indians, were the greatest all-around fighters.

Unlike so many other Indian tribes, the Western Apache and the Chiricahua seldom took scalps. For one thing, by the time an Apache got through bashing in a skull with the handiest rock or chunk of wood or rifle butt, there wasn't much left to scalp. For another, he didn't like to have things belonging to the dead hanging around the house. He didn't have to bring a scalp home to the wife and kiddies to show what a brave warrior he was. The mere fact he got back all in one piece and loaded down with booty proved that. Scalping was, therefore, never

carried on extensively. It seems to have been a recently acquired custom. The Chiricahua blamed the Mexicans for the introduction of scalping, and most scalping seems to have been in retaliation against Mexicans who had taken Apache scalps.

That doesn't mean the Apaches didn't torture their captives. Sometimes they did, horribly. A victim might be hung head down over a slow fire and roasted. Or he might be tied to a wagon wheel and burned alive, often being skinned in the process. Sometimes Apaches staked a victim naked over an anthill, first smearing the eyes and mouth with wild honey. Again the captive might be bound tightly with green rawhide cords to a giant cactus and left to die as the rawhide tightened in the sun and the sharp-pointed thorns pierced the victim's

body. Similar rawhide thongs might be tied around a captive's head to crush the skull as the leather slowly tightened.*

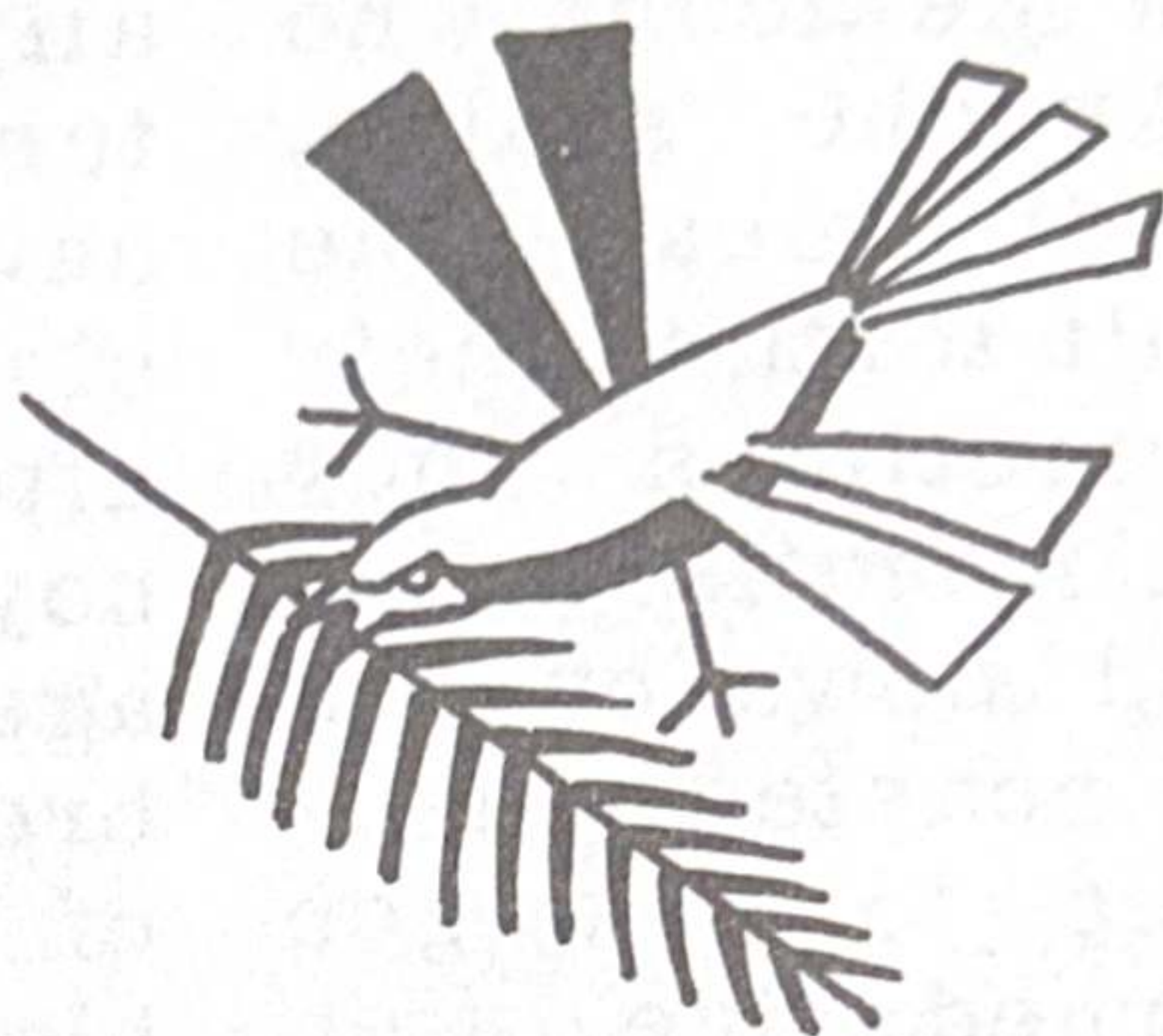
Not all captives were tortured and killed. Occasionally women would be captured and brought back to camp and put to work as slaves. But the most sought-after captives were young boys of 4, 5, and 6 years of age. These were adopted and brought up as Apaches, some of them frequently rising to high positions within the group.

Man for man, the Apaches were a match for the best troops sent against them. They were not conquered. They were overpowered by greater numbers, by superior equipment, and, above all, by the use of their own brothers against them as scouts.

*Ed. note: Many Apache survivors of the wars insisted Apaches mutilated only those captives who had inflicted injury or death on fellow warriors—or whose companions had done so.



The Apache Today



Chapter 11

IN PREVIOUS chapters we have presented a brief picture of the Apache way of life as it was a century ago. Now, what about the Apache today? How has he survived 100 years of reservation life, almost 100 years of control by his former enemies, the white men? Has the Apache way of life, his culture, changed, and, if so, in what ways? The answers to these questions will be given in the next few pages.

As we pointed out in Chapter 3, the Chiricahua and Western Apache no longer occupy contiguous territories. Although the Western Apache still live more or less in their original homeland, the Chiricahua are

scattered in Oklahoma and in the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. We shall, therefore, discuss the two groups separately, the Western Apache first, the Chiricahua second.

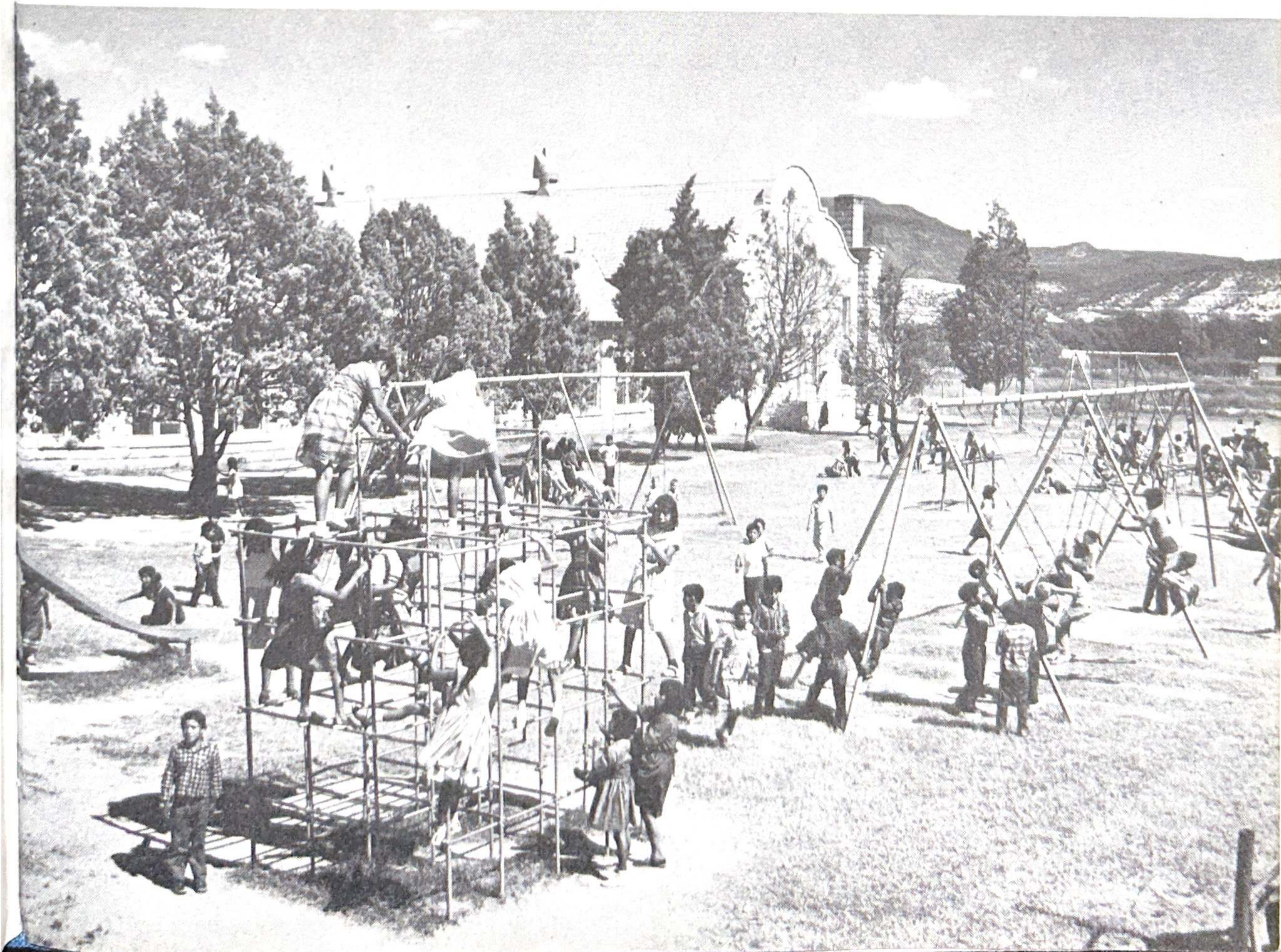
As you would expect in 100 years, the Western Apache way of life has changed. Warfare and raiding have gone and so, to a great extent, has hunting. Wild plants are no longer an important source of food. The old local group headed by a chief has been largely replaced by a community organization. Law is now enforced by Indian police and Indian courts under the direction of the tribal government, except for major crimes, which come under

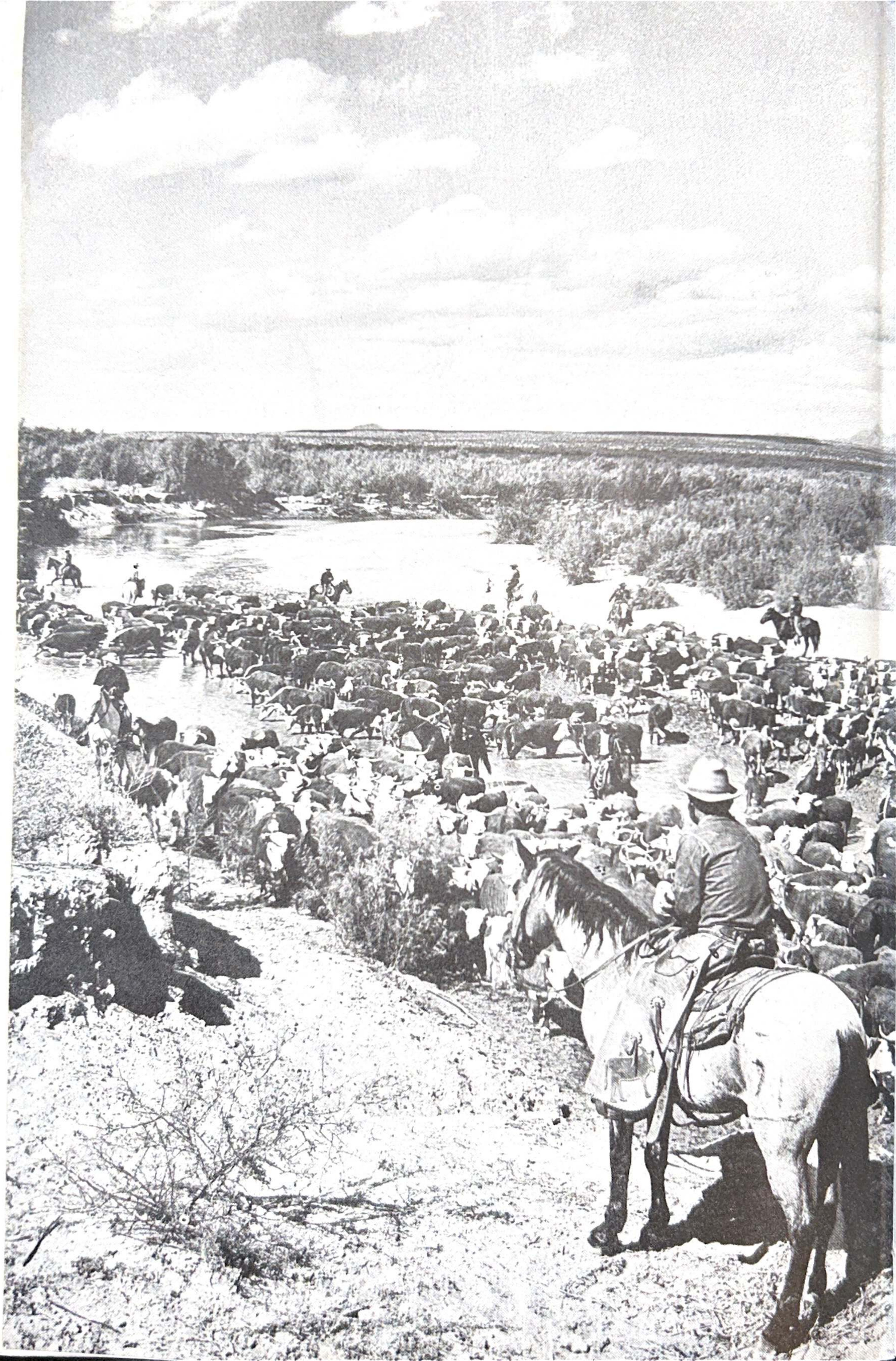
federal jurisdiction. Women's work has been lightened to the extent that she now obtains most of her food supplies at a store. Cattle raising has become the man's principal occupation. The plow is now used in agriculture. Many Apaches live in frame houses. A pickup truck has replaced the foot and the horse as the favorite means of transportation. Though the long, full skirt and loose blouse of the late 19th century is still popular with many Apache women, the men have adopted typical cowboy outfits. All Apache children are

now in school, learning the white man's language and ways. Many of the native arts are fast disappearing. Pottery is no longer made. Beadwork, introduced to the Apache, has become increasingly popular.

But the Apache is still an Apache and will be for a long time to come. Many customs still survive from the past. Family organization is still alive, the position of the subchief still prominent. The mother-in-law taboo is still strong. Descent is still reckoned in the matrilineal line. On the reservation there are

*Apache children on San Carlos grade school playground. Western Ways
Photo by Herbert.*





still a few wickiups, covered with canvas rather than with skins. Women still prefer to cook over an open fire. Except for the utensils used, methods of preparing foods are much the same as they were 100 years ago. Of all the native arts and crafts, a very small quantity of basketry is still made, largely, however, for the tourist trade. Well over 1,000 Western Apaches still do not speak English. Ritual is still strong. Very few people who become sick are ever treated by medicine men. In many cases those who first go to doctors and do not get immediate relief then resort to medicine men. Ceremony is still used in connection with agriculture, in the handling of horses, in hunting, and in the coming-out ceremony.

Marriage procedure has not greatly changed. Many marriages are still arranged by the two families rather than by the individuals themselves. Marriage gifts are still given. Usual gifts today range from a steer killed for the girl's family, to a load of supplies from the store to, in one case, a gift of \$75 by the young man to his future mother-in-law. Today, in addition, a wedding license and legal marriage

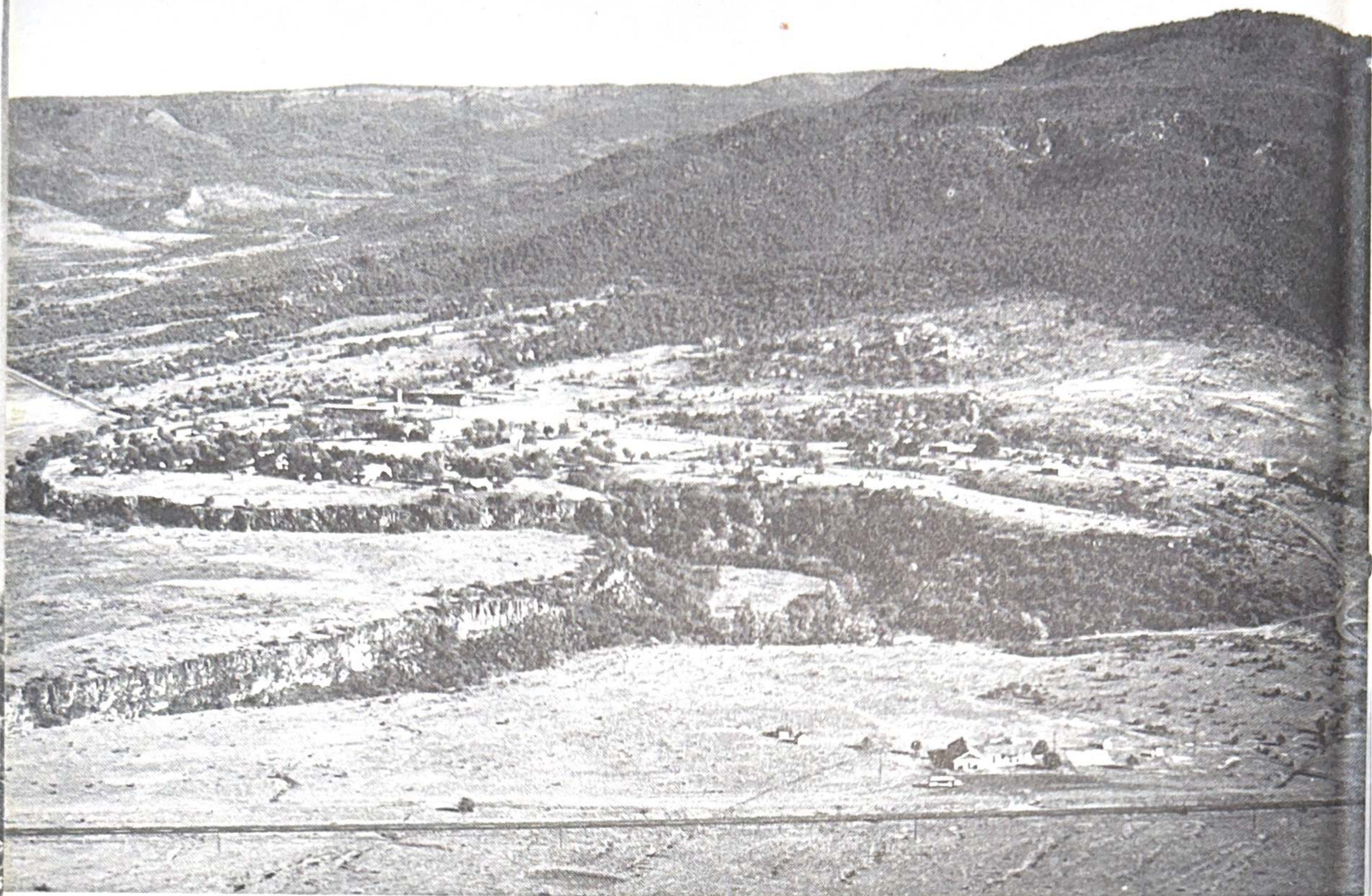
according to the state laws are required. Modern divorce differs from the old pattern only in that the government requires the separation be legalized in court.

The transition from a semi-nomadic agricultural, hunting, and seed gathering existence to participation in the civilization of today's nuclear world has not been an easy one for the Apache to make. It is hard for the Apache, particularly the older generation, to forget that he has been controlled by white for more than 80 years, that he has been forced to submit to rulings not his own. Many white men have run roughshod over the Indians whenever they had the chance. Here and there chunks of land have been sliced off the reservation and given to white men.

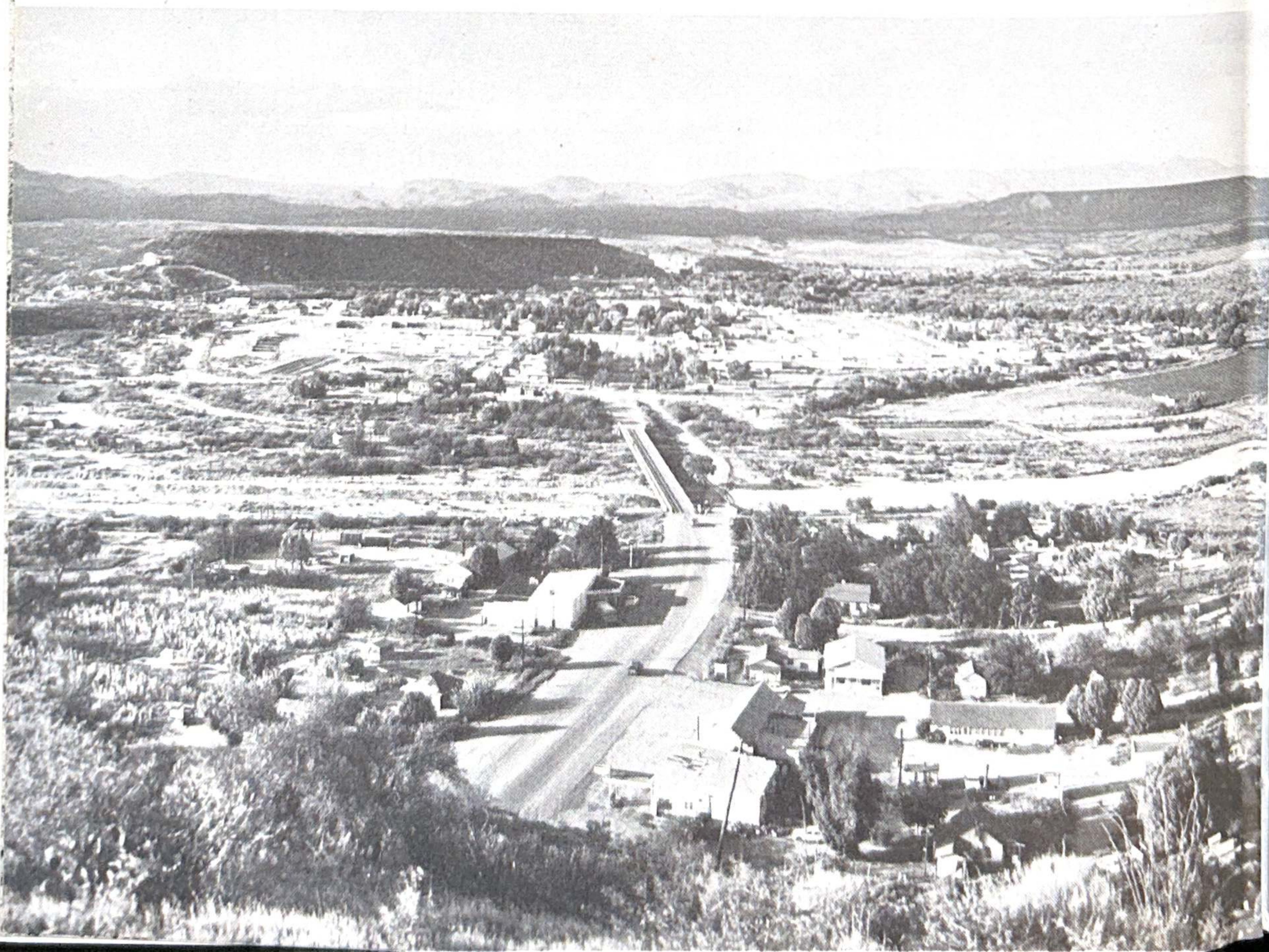
But, beginning in the early 1920's, things began to change for the better. New and more enlightened Indian agents were appointed. Blunders were remedied. Abuses were corrected.

Today the five groups of the Western Apache live on two adjoining reservations in east-central Arizona: the Fort Apache Reservation north of the Salt and Black Rivers and the San Carlos Reservation to the south. Though they no longer own all of the country over which they formerly roamed, they still occupy the heart of this

Left, San Carlos Apache cattle herd roundup. Western Ways photo by Herbert.



Above, general view of Ft. Apache. Below, looking down on San Carlos Tribal headquarters and main residential section beyond bridge in upper part of photo. Western Ways photo by Herbert.





Marvin Mull, tribal council chairman (elected in 1963) and San Carlos tribal business officers. Western Ways photo by Herbert.

desert and mountain land.

This land was not given to the Indians, as many people seem to think. This was Apache land long before the Americans began moving into Arizona. It still belongs to the Apaches. It is owned by the tribal members and is held in trust for them by the United States Government.

The Apaches, like other Indians today, in case you didn't know it, are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they live; in this case, Arizona. They are no longer wards of the government. They are free to come and go as they

please. Their special status is based on their membership in a tribe and on the fact that, because of this membership, they are a concern of the federal rather than the state government. Such special services as the Indian receives are tied to treaties and to legal and moral obligations of the Federal Government. Like most people today, the Apaches have to earn their own living. Some do not, and receive welfare like members of other groups.

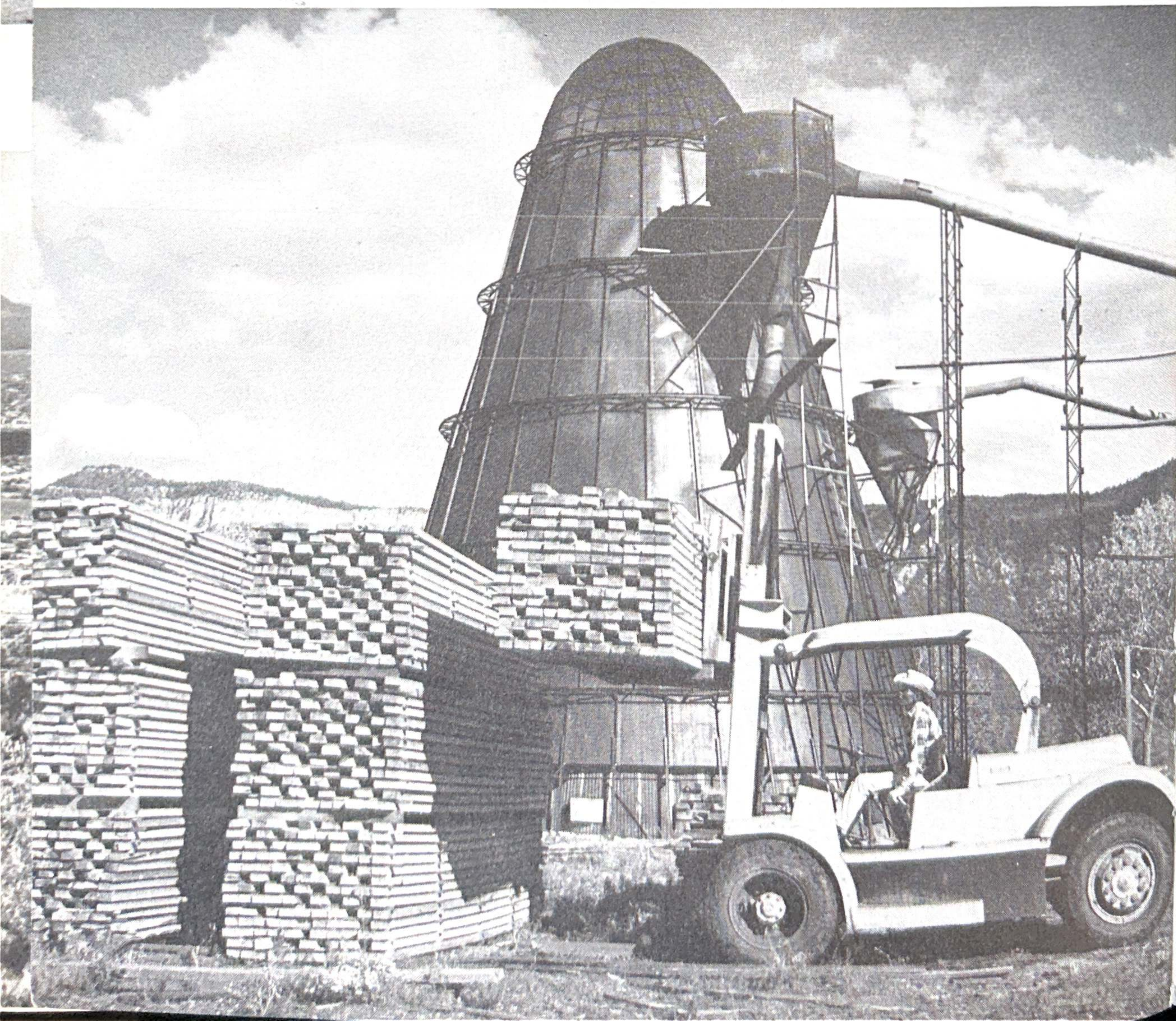
In 1936 the San Carlos Apache tribe was organized under a written constitution

and by-laws. Two years later the White Mountain Apache tribe was organized on the Fort Apache Reservation. Each is governed by a tribal council of from seven to nine members elected every 2 years. The council administers the affairs of the entire tribe, including the management of all tribal property and tribal enterprises, control of both Indians and non-Indians on the reservation, and the welfare of tribal members.

For a people who had never before been organized on a tribal basis, this was a unique step to take. Though there have been many problems and difficulties to overcome, so far the tribal government system is working out very well.

The Apaches show a strong interest in council affairs. There is always a full slate of nominees for council offices, and voting for council members is generally heavy. Women take an active part in

Tribal saw mill, White River. Western Ways Photos by Herbert.



elections and have even been elected to the council. The monthly public meetings of the council are well attended. The Apaches are participating fully in their own government, and citizens outside the reservations could well follow the example of strong interest shown in their local government by the Indians.

One of the most profitable tribal enterprises administered by the council is cattle raising. With the exception of a few thousand acres of farming lands, the remainder of the two reservations is principally cattle country. A few of the Indians had begun raising cattle in the late 1880's by drawing live animals in the weekly beef ration and saving them to build up small herds. But the invasion by adjoining white cattle ranchers in the 1890's took over most of the Indian lands and held back the development of an Apache cattle industry. When the last of the white-owned cattle were finally driven from the reservation in 1934, the Apaches went into the cattle business in a big way. Over the years they have become as top cowhands and cattle raisers as their grandfathers were hunters and raiders and fighters.

The San Carlos tribe, for example, has a registered tribal herd of Herefords and also operates a tribal stock enterprise (the "Old Folks"

herd) to support a tribal welfare program, its own form of social security for the aged. The White Mountain tribe also has its own tribal herd of Herefords.

These tribal herds occupy only a small percentage of the reservations, and most of the grazing areas are used by a number of cattle associations run by the Apaches themselves. All Apache Indian cattlemen belong to one or the other of these associations and run their stock on association range. The association, through payments in labor or fees from members, maintains and works the range. Cattle are, however, individually owned and branded. There are now some 1200 individual Apache cattlemen owning from a few head each up to the limit of 70 breeding cows. Some 17,000 head of Hereford cattle are now owned by the Fort Apache cattle associations.

This has proved to be so successful that there is now a waiting list of young Apaches who want to get into the cattle business. Because of the limitation of available range, cattle estates are prohibited. When a member dies, his cattle are sold and the proceeds paid to his heirs. This makes room for a new cattleman. The new member is loaned 20 head of stock and must repay the loan, plus an additional 2

head as interest, within a period of 7 to 10 years.

Even more profitable on the Fort Apache Reservation than cattle raising has been the sale of standing timber to commercial operators. In addition the tribe since 1951 has managed its own sawmill at Whiteriver. A new \$1,000,000 sawmill at Fort Apache employs 100 tribal members.

The chief known mineral resource at present on the two reservations is asbestos. This is being mined by outside interests who pay annual rental and royalties to the tribes.

Both the San Carlos and White Mountain tribes also operate trading enterprises. The White Mountain tribe has also encouraged the Apaches to start up private businesses such as service stations, stores, restaurants, and motels.

One of the greatest assets of the Fort Apache Reservation is recreation. Much of the reservation is a mountain paradise of streams, lakes, and forests. To develop this land into a playground for visitors, the tribal council organized the White Mountain Recreation Enterprise. Already a great deal has been accomplished. Hundreds of new campgrounds have been developed. Trails and roads have been improved and well marked with direction signs. New cottages and motels are

being built around many lakes and along streams. Nearly 500 cabin sites have been leased. Each year hundreds of thousands of legal-sized trout have been planted in these lakes and streams. In 1963 a new fish hatchery was started near Whiteriver to insure an adequate supply of trout to stock reservation waters.

Each year more and more hunters, fishermen, and campers are flocking into this mountain wonderland. The sale of fishing, camping, and hunting permits has added thousands of dollars to the tribal revenue. Hunting permits are sold for elk, bear, javelina, waterfowl, and doves. Deer permits are not always sold, as the Apaches are allowed to hunt deer free during the hunting season.

The heavily forested northern part of the San Carlos reservation is also being developed as a recreation area. In the northwest corner a trout-stocked lake has been put in on the edge of the scenic Salt River Canyon along U. S. Highway 60. The hitherto inaccessible interior forests and mountains of the northeastern part of the reservation will be opened to vacationers over a paved road under construction in 1964.

Both the San Carlos and White Mountain Tribe Councils are working on long

range programs for the development of other resources on the two reservations.

This is the bright side of the picture. There are other aspects concerning the Apache today that are not quite so cheerful.

From the beginning of the reservation period the United States government's policy was to concentrate the Apaches in certain areas near the army posts. This may have been necessary at the time in order to keep the Indians under control. But it was completely foreign to the old Apache pattern of small, widely-scattered, joint family and local group communities. It has resulted in the Apaches' continuing to crowd closely about the cluster of buildings comprising the agency, stores, and schools.

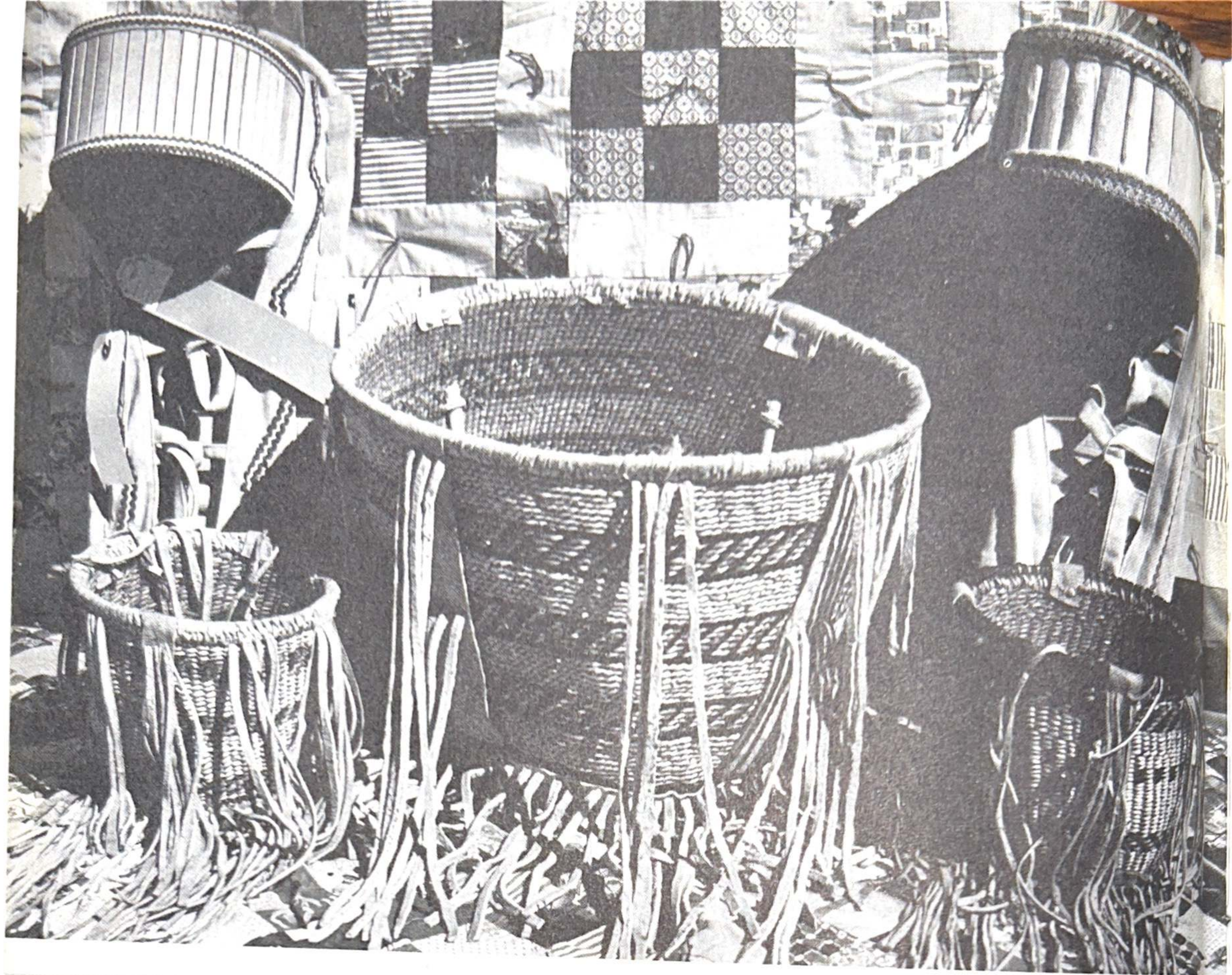
On the San Carlos Reservation, for example, well over half the total reservation population lives at or near the agency town of San Carlos. Most of the remaining Apaches live at the two other towns of Bylas and Calva farther up the Gila River. With the exception of a few households residing at a sawmill and several mines, there are no other settlements. There is no rural population.

In these towns most families live in flimsy one- or two-room wooden houses. Some live in tents and old-

time brush- and canvas-covered wickiups. More than 150 of the small wooden homes at San Carlos were improved, beginning in 1963 and 1964, and water and sewer systems were installed in the communities. Ten new 3-bedroom houses were constructed under a Federal housing program in 1964, and an additional 190 were programmed for the two following years. Two new tribal community centers and gymnasiums also were built, beginning in 1964.

Another source of difficulty rests in the mixture of Western Apache groups on the San Carlos Reservations. Four of the five Western Apache groups (Southern Tonto, Northern Tonto, San Carlos, and White Mountain) are on the reservation, plus about 60-odd Yavapai (called Mohave locally). Although many of the latter understand Apache, they usually do not speak it. This has, at times, caused friction. Members of the White Mountain group have maintained a distinct identity from the other Apache groups, settling apart from the others.

About three-fourths of the present San Carlos Reservation lies within what was originally White Mountain territory. The remainder of the land was originally San Carlos territory. These former territorial divisions have been bones of contention



MODERN CRAFTS:

Upper left,
*Whiteriver burden
baskets and
cradle boards
at White Mountain
Apache Fair.*

Upper right,
*saddle bags
as carried
on horse.*



Lower left,
*beadwork necklaces
and collars
(see illustration
bottom p 112).*

Lower right,
*sewing decorative
trim on a
saddle bag.
Western Ways
photos by Herbert.*



between the various groups.

On the Fort Apache Reservation conditions are somewhat different. Although Whiteriver is the agency and trading center for the reservation, by no means all the population is concentrated there. There are other sizeable communities all up and down the White River and over on Cibecue and Carrizo Creeks. Further, there are only two Western Apache groups on the reservation, the White Mountain and Cibecue, and both are occupying much of their own former territory.

Since 1890 the Western Apache have been increasing in numbers. At that date there were 4,138 Western Apaches. Now there are slightly more than twice that number. An interesting feature is that women markedly outnumbered the men in 1890. Now the two sexes are about even, with perhaps a few more men than women. This may be due to the disappearance of such hazardous male occupations as raiding and warfare.

Though the standard of living of the Western Apache is gradually rising, it still has a long way to go to reach a level comparable to that of our own. There is no reliable estimate of Apache family income.

At San Carlos, the average family income, including single adults without depend-

ents, is thought to be about \$1100 per year. It should be remembered that the term family does not mean the same thing in Apache society as in Anglo-American society. Related individuals who share income extend far beyond the elementary family.

Families on the Fort Apache reservation, largely because of timber sales and the activities of the White Mountain Recreation Enterprise, have a somewhat larger average yearly income, estimates ranging as high as \$1500.

The visitor to the San Carlos and Fort Apache Reservations has a great many things to see and do. U.S. Highway 70 skirts the southern edge from Safford to Globe, passing through the Apache towns of Bylas, Calva, Peridot, and Cutter. Agency headquarters of San Carlos is only 4 miles off the main highway. U.S. Highway 60 crosses the western part of the reservation from Globe to Showlow. There are modest sales counters for Indian handicraft at Bylas and San Carlos tribal stores.

But to get back into the heart of the territory take State Highway 73 from Carrizo to McNary. This paved loop road leads you into some of the most colorful country in Arizona. Here and there you will pass old-time wickiups where Apache families are still living much as

their ancestors did 100 years ago. If you stop to get a picture or two, remember that the Indians don't like to have their pictures taken by strangers any more than you would. Ask permission first.

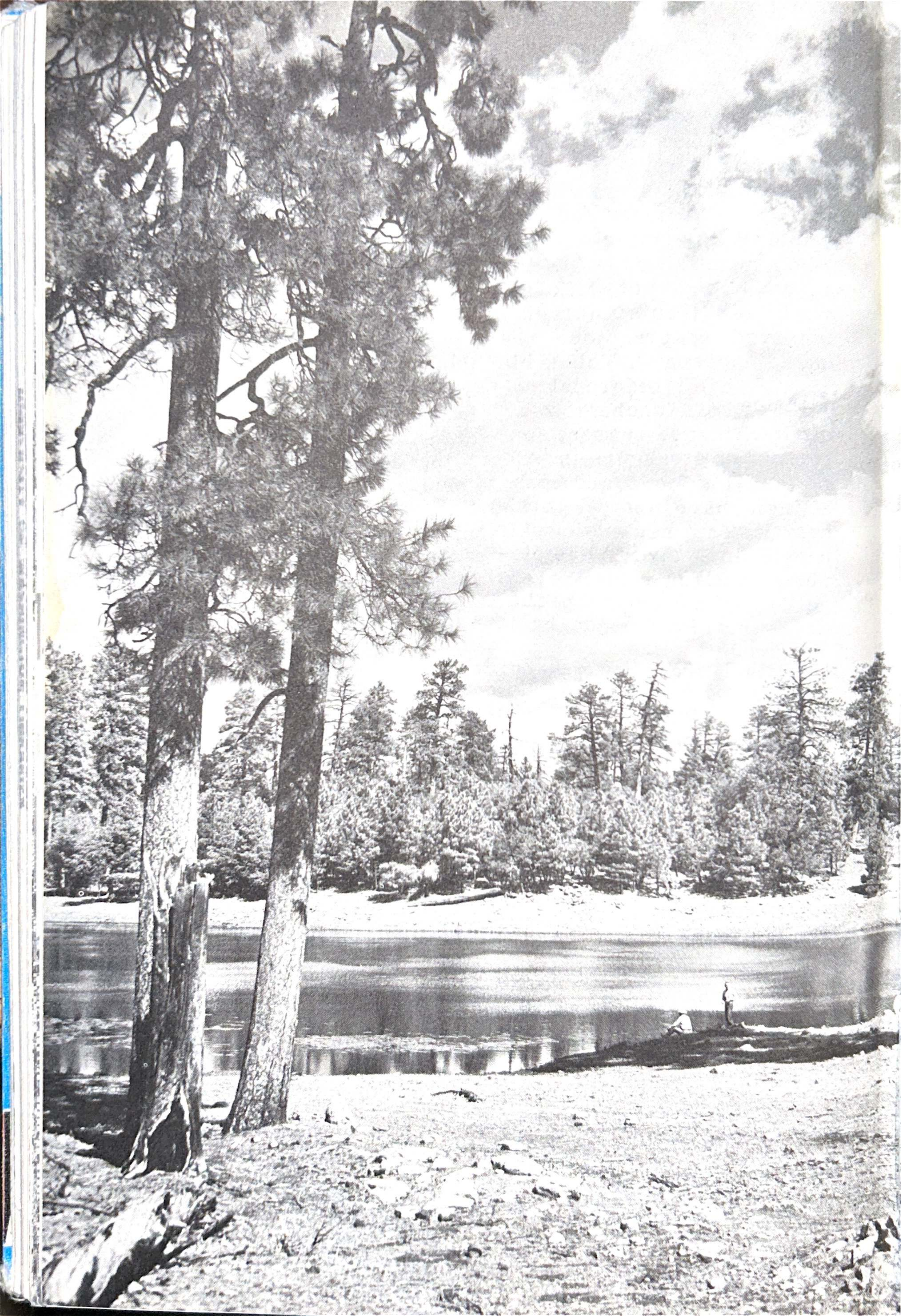
Don't be alarmed if the Apache does not talk too much nor if his markedly reserved expression remains unchanged. This is his normal habit before strangers. The Apaches were, often with good reason, suspicious of strangers in pre-preservation days and many of them have not yet gotten over it. This has made many people think the Apache stupid or sullen. Actually he is neither. With other Apaches or with white friends he is

usually gay. Apaches love to laugh and joke, though loud and noisy talk is seldom heard. Like other women, Apache women love to gossip.

Four miles west of Fort Apache you can visit one of the numerous prehistoric Indian ruins dotting the reservation. Kinishba (meaning Brown House) was excavated by the University of Arizona in the 1930's. Pueblo Indians lived here back in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. Kinishba was partially restored but the project was never completed because of lack of funds. Today many of the pueblo's walls and roofs have collapsed. The Recreation En-

Above, Sgt. Reiley, last of the Apache scouts with the army, receiving an award from the commanding officer at Ft. Huachuca, Ariz. in 1939. Note inaccurate costume. Western Ways photo by Herbert.





terprise would like to repair the ruin but they, too, lack the necessary money.

High on a bluff at the junction of the East and North forks of the White River is Fort Apache. Officers' row and the old Post Headquarters building are still in use. General Crook's log cabin can still be seen. The entire army post is now occupied by the Theodore Roosevelt Boarding School. Several hundred Apache Indian children now play on the same parade ground where troops once marched in review. Up the hill a mile or so from the old fort is the military cemetery, marking the resting place of Apache scouts and their families. If you search hard enough you can find deep wagon ruts marking the old military road from Fort Apache to Fort Thomas.

Four miles up North Fork from Fort Apache is White-river, the agency headquarters for the reservation. If it were not for the occasional wickiup on the outskirts of town, you would think you were in any modern western community. Here, if your visit coincides with the Fourth of July, you will have

the opportunity to watch an Indian rodeo and see the colorful Apache Indian coming-out ceremony with its gan (or Devil) Dancers. During the Labor Day celebration you can also see the Annual White Mountain Apache Tribal Fair and Rodeo.

There are a great many other points of interest on the San Carlos and Fort Apache Indian Reservations, but this will give you some idea of what you can expect to find.

The Chiricahua, as we mentioned, have not been as fortunate as their relatives, the Western Apache. After their long exile in Florida, Alabama, and, finally, Oklahoma, 187 Chiricahua Apaches, in April, 1913, returned to New Mexico, to the Mescalero Reservation.

Less than 100 remained in Oklahoma. These were mainly the Warm Springs band and younger people, those who had been to school and had acquired property. Over the past 50 years most of them have settled down to farming and stock-raising. Today it is difficult to distinguish Chiricahua Apache houses and farms from those of their neighbors.

On the Mescalero Reservation conditions are similar in many respects to those we have just described for the two Western Apache res-

—Left, one of the many recreational lakes being developed on the White-river and San Carlos reservations. Western Ways photo by Herbert.

ervations in Arizona.

At first the 187 Chiricahuas settled mainly in the White Tail community. Gradually they began intermingling and intermarrying with the Mescalero. Today, when you meet an Indian on the reservation, you cannot tell whether you are looking at a Mescalero or a descendant of one of the Chiricahua Apache warriors of the 1880's.

The town of Mescalero, on U. S. Highway 70 cutting across the northwestern section of the reservation, is the agency headquarters and the center of reservation life. Over a third of the approximately 1200 Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache Indians live in or near the town. The other 700 or 800 are concentrated in Carrizo, White Tail, and three or four

smaller communities.

Though many Apaches now live in frame houses, many others still live on the outskirts of communities in rude huts and brush tipis. During the 1930's, the government built houses for many of the Indians. These are, however, without plumbing or other modern conveniences. Water is piped to the outside of most of these houses, but many people have opposed piping water into the houses. Most heating and cooking is done by wood-burning stoves. There are no facilities for garbage disposal.

Farming, cattle raising, timber cutting, employment by government or tribe, and recreation are the major sources of income. Only a small number of Apaches farm. Unlike the Western

Sorting acorns, preparatory to grinding. Western Ways photo by Herbert.



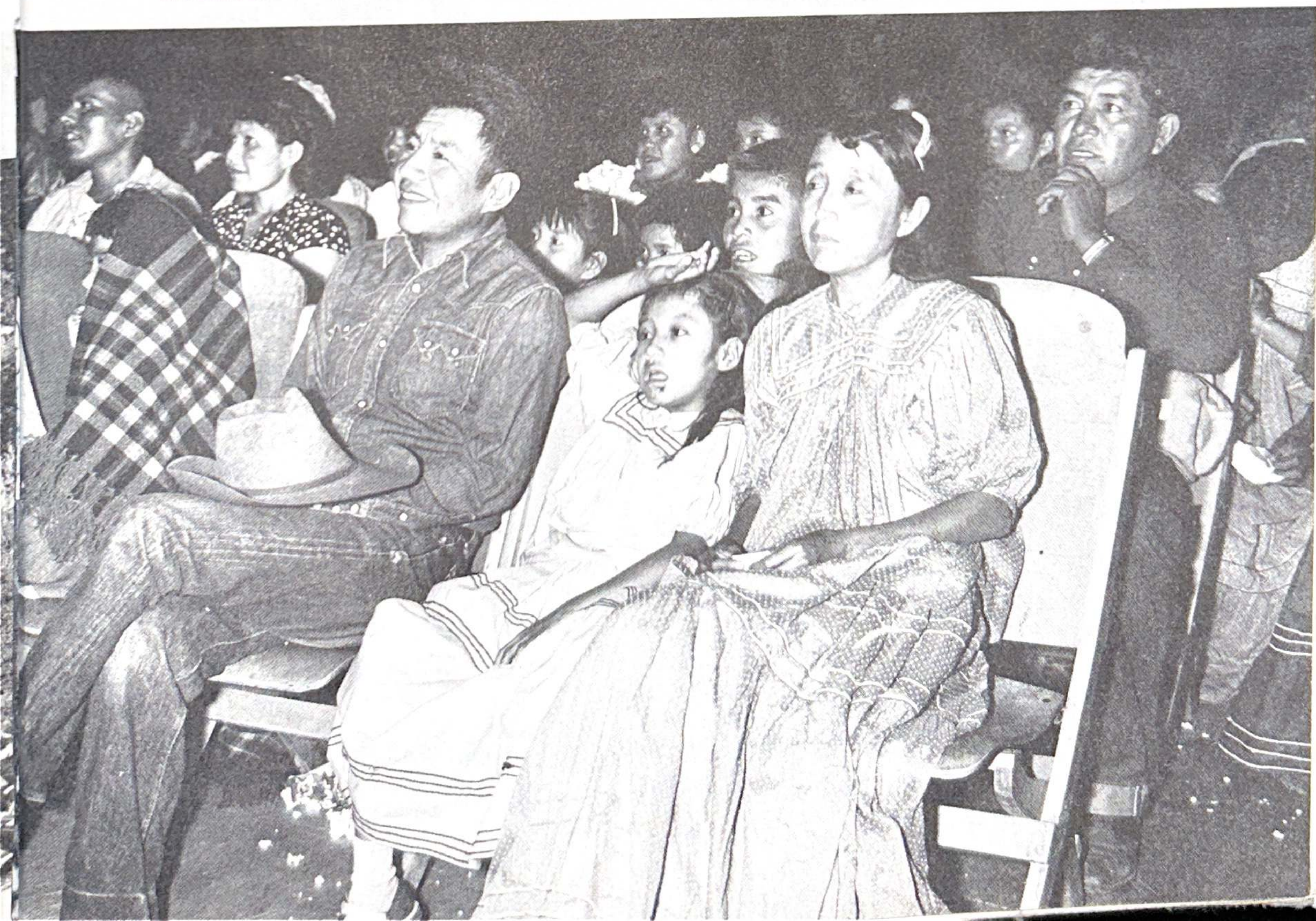
Apache, neither the Mescalero nor the Chiricahua ever engaged in farming to any extent prior to reservation days. By contrast, nearly every family has a few cows and some own good-sized herds. The tribe itself owns a sizeable herd, as does the Cattle Growers Association. Timber cutting has been a more important source of income than cattle raising.

Like the Western Apache, the Mescalero have recently gone into the tourist business. They have opened a tourist center at Apache Summit on Highway 70 and are encouraging the manu-

facture of native arts and crafts.

It has been little more than 75 years ago that the Apache Indian wars came to a close. Cochise and Victorio and Nana and Geronimo have gone to the Indian Happy Hunting Ground. The word Apache that once heralded death and destruction to the settlers of Arizona and New Mexico now stands for a people who are attempting to build a place for themselves in the white man's world and at the same time retain something of their native culture. Let us hope they never entirely lose it.

Apaches watching the movie "Broken Arrow." Western Ways photo by Herbert.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beals, Ralph L.
1934. The Material Culture of the Pima, Papago, and Western Apache. National Park Service. Berkeley, Calif.
- Bellah, Robert N.
1952. Apache Kinship Systems. Harvard University Press.
- Betzinez, Jason with W. S. Nye
1959. I Fought With Geronimo. The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
- Blount, Bertha
1949. The Apache in the Southwest, 1846-1886. Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 1, Austin.
- Bourke, John G.
1891. On the Border with Crook. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Reprinted by Long's College Book Company, Columbus, Ohio, 1950.
- 1933-1938. Bourke on the Southwest. Edited by Lansing B. Bloom, New Mexico Historical Review, Vols. 7-13, Santa Fe.
1958. An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Brandes, Ray
1960. Frontier Military Posts of Arizona. Dale Stuart King, Globe, Arizona.
- Castetter, Edward F. and Morris E. Opler.
1936. The Ethnobiology of the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache. University of New Mexico Bulletin, Biological Series, No. 5.
- Clum, Woodworth
1936. Apache Agent. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York.
- Cooke, David C.
1954. Fighting Indians of the West. Dodd, Mead & Company, New York.
- Cremony, John C.
1951. Life Among the Apaches. Arizona Silhouettes, Tucson.
- Cruse, Thomas
1941. Apache Days and After. The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho.
- Dale, Edward Everett
1949. The Indians of the Southwest: A Century of Development under the United States. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Davis, Britton
1929. The Truth about Geronimo. Yale University Press. New Haven.
- Douglas, F. H.
1930. The Apache Indians. Denver Art Museum Leaflets, No. 16.
1934. Apache Indian Coiled Basketry. Denver Art Museum Leaflets, No. 64.
- Eggan, Fred, editor
1937. Social Anthropology of North American Indian Tribes. The University of Chicago Press.
- Goddard, Pliny E.
1931. Indians of the South-

- INDEX
- New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 32, No. 4, Santa Fe.
- Mazzanovich, Anton
1926. Trailing Geronimo. Gem Publishing Company, Los Angeles.
- Opler, Morris E.
1941. An Apache Life Way: The Economic, Social and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians. University of Chicago Press.
- Roberts, Helen M.
1931. Basketry of the San Carlos Apache. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 31, Part 2.
- Santee, Ross
1947. Apache Land. Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Schmitt, Martin F. and Dee Grown
1948. Fighting Indians of the West. Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Sonnichsen, C. L.
1958. The Mescalero Apaches. The University of Oklahoma Press.
- Stanley, F.
1962. The Apaches of New Mexico. Pampa, Tex.
- Wellman, Paul I.
1947. The Indian Wars of the West. Doubleday & Company.
- Woodward, Arthur
1961. Sidelights on Fifty Years of Apache Warfare. The Journal of Arizona History, Vol. 11, No. 3., Tucson.
- west. American Museum of Natural History, Handbook No. 2.
- Goodwin, Grenville
1936. Experiences of an Apache Scout. Arizona Historical Review, Vol. 11, No. 1, Tucson.
1938. The Southern Athapascans. The Kiva, Vol. 4, No. 2.
1942. The Social Organization of the Western Apache. The University of Chicago Press.
- Herbert, Charles W.
1962. Land of the White Mountain Apaches. Arizona Highways, Vol. 39, No. 5, pp. 8-35, Phoenix.
- Hodge, F. W., editor
1910. Handbook of American Indians. 2 vols. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Washington, D. C.
- Joseph, Alvin M., Jr., editor
1961. The American Heritage Book of Indians. American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., New York.
- Kaut, Charles R.
1957. The Western Apache Clan System: Its Origins and Development. University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, No. 9.
- Lockwood, Frank C.
1938. The Apache Indians. The Macmillan Company, New York.
- Matson, Daniel S. and Albert H. Schroeder
1957. Cordero's Description of the Apache—1796.

About the Book

An absorbing yet readable account of two groups of Apache Indians — the Chiricahua and the Western Apache — who have been called the greatest all-around warriors of the American Indians.

Utilizing the latest findings of anthropologists, and his own firsthand information, Dr. Baldwin tells in accurate detail the story of these little-known people.

He discusses each aspect of their way of life — economy and technology, social organization, marriage customs, government and law, religion and ceremonies.

He dispels many of the fallacies written about this famous tribe.

He vividly recreates the unique aboriginal life of these stone age peoples.

A beautifully illustrated book, it presents a vivid and authoritative picture of Apache Indian life, and how they are adapting to modern times.

About the Author

Dr. Gordon C. Baldwin, anthropologist, archeologist, and author of numerous books, has studied the ancient Indians for more than 30 years.

Born in Portland, Ore., he obtained his B.A. and M.A. degrees in anthropology at the U. of Arizona in 1933 and '34., his Ph.D. at the U. of Southern California in 1941, and served as an archaeologist in the National Park Service from 1940 to 1953.

From 1931-39 he spent six years on the Ft. Apache Reservation, excavating prehistoric Indian ruins, and was in



charge of Apache workmen some of this time.

In 1954 he turned his hand to writing eight Western novels, all of which were published in New York, most also having been published in England and Scandinavia.

For the past two years he has been writing anthropological books for young people, such as *America's Buried Past*, *The Ancient Ones*, *The World of Prehistory*, *Stone Age Peoples Today* and *The Riddle of the Past*.

He is editor of the monthly magazine of the Western Writers of America, *The Roundup*, and is a member of the Tucson Corral of the *Westerners*.

The Warrior Apaches is his first Indian book for adults; the next will cover the Navajo. The remaining Apaches — the Mescalero, Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache — will be described in a later book tentatively entitled *The Plains Apaches*.

Married to the former Pauline Fariss of Douglas, Ariz., he has two daughters and six grandchildren, and resides in Tucson, Ariz.